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Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies
Edited by Ehsan Yarshater

Number 1

The Culture of the Sakas in Ancient Iranian Khotan

by

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Foreword

The Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies, established in 1978, are intended to serve as a vehicle for the presentation of original research or synthesis by eminent scholars in the fields of art history and archaeology of Iran, Iranian cultural history and philology, Iranian philosophies and religions, and Persian literature.

The present volume is based on five lectures on the Iranian culture of ancient Khotan, given by the author during the month of October, 1979, at Columbia University, New York, as the first series of the Columbia Lectures. It provides a much needed overview of present scholarship concerning the land and the people of Iranian Khotan, its language, religion, culture, and daily life, as presented by and seen through the original documents from the region.

Our knowledge of Khotanese language and culture owes a great deal to Sir Harold Bailey, who has dedicated a lifetime of study to its advancement. The Center for Iranian Studies at Columbia University is proud to initiate the publication of the lecture series with this volume.

Ehsan Yarshater

About the Author

Sir Harold Walter Bailey received his education at the University of West Australia and Oxford University. He began his teaching career in 1929 as Lecturer in Iranian Studies. In 1936 he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge University. During his long and distinguished career Professor Bailey has been an active member of the leading European Orientalist societies. He has been a member of the Governing Body of the School of Oriental and African Studies (1946–70), President of the Philological Society (1948–52), President of the Royal Asiatic Society (1964–67), and recipient of that society's Gold Medal in 1972. Professor Bailey was knighted in 1960 in recognition of his outstanding contributions to scholarship.

Professor Bailey's publications include numerous scholarly articles covering the whole range of Iranian philology, his Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth Century Books (1938), his Khotanese Texts I–VI (1945–68), and his Saka Documents in the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum (1960–67, text volume, 1968). His monumental Khotanese Dictionary, which represents one of the finest examples of philological erudition, was published in 1979.

Sir Harold's contributions to the field of Iranian philology have been invaluable. A prodigious and profoundly original scholar, he has also been the teacher of many of the leading Iranists of our time.

Preface

These five lectures in the Columbia University Lecture Series on Iranian Studies which I have been honoured to be the first to deliver may, while seeking to broaden the basis of Iranian knowledge, serve to introduce the background to the linguistic investigation of the language *hvatanau* 'of Khotan' until the invasion of the Turks (*ttūrka-*) about 1000 of our era. The earlier 1200 years have long been known, though scantily, from the limited records of the Annals of Chinese Dynasties. For the period after 1000 there is the full monograph on Cotan in Paul Pelliot's Notes on Marco Polo 1959.

In the Śītā Basin, the Tarim Basin, the name of Khotan is recorded about 300 A.D. in a Kharoṣṭhī document (no. 661). The *Khotaniya* are often mentioned in the Kroraina texts. The ruler of Khotan at that time had the titulature *khotana maharaya rayatiraya hinajha dheva vij'ida siṃhasya,* that is, 'of Khotan, the Great King, King of Kings, Commander of armies, God, of the family Vijita, Siṃha (Lion)'. The title is thus largely Indianised. Buddhism reached the Śītā early. According to the legend of Ming-ti, Chinese scholars were sent in the first century A.D. to Khotan for Buddhist learning.

The Khotan Saka language is known on three clearly distinct stages, the oldest stage in the religious translations (when the name of the land was *hvatana-, hvataṃ*); the second stage with much diminished inflection (when the name was *hvaṃna*) and the latest stage when final syllables may be lost (when the name was *hvana* and *hvaṃ*). The second stage had been reached by the time about 640 A.D. of the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Hüan Tsang. On the linguistic side, the evolution can be seen in the ending of the genitive plural, the oldest *-ānu* and *-āni,* the second stage *-āṃ* and the third *-ā.* The Old Iranian vocabulary is scanty but can now be supplemented by the Sogdian for eastern Iranian and the Khotan Saka for northern Iranian. The Turfan Persian and Parthian fill out the western lacunae.

In this Introduction the attempt has been made to see their state of knowledge from their own books. For this it has been necessary to list all their words of ordinary life, and then to examine their intellectual interests. The background of China and Iran can be conceived in the books of B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica,* 1919 and E. Shafer, *The golden peaches of Samar-*

kand, 1963. The internal politics cannot be recovered. For those it is necessary to go to Chinese and Tibetan texts. But it is possible to describe the peoples who are on their borders. The later Khotan Saka documents are largely concerned with the irresistibly advancing Turks. The King Viśa Śūra's letter in the 10th century to his uncle, his mother's brother, the Ta-uang (Great King) at Throana (Ṣacū, Tun-huang) shows a keen wish to be on good terms with that Chinese, almost Imperial, family.

The Lectures follow this course. The linguistic evidence is cited to bring the reader as closely as possible to the speakers of Khotan Saka. The survey begins with Khotan, its land and people, moves on to its intellectual achievements, and then lists the peoples to whom their diplomatic documents point in the contemporary scene.

It is interesting that for the ancient Zoroastrian Avesta tradition a similar survey was made by W. Geiger almost a hundred years ago (1882) in his valuable *Ostiranische Kultur*.

The long labour to make the Khotan Saka materials available to scholars will be amply repaid if these Lectures serve to clear the path. It is offered to all Iranisants.

Chapter 1

Khotan, the Land and People, Cult, and Daily Life

Jade, —— This Khotan of two thousand years ago which I have to make known from its own documents, was the almost only source of jade, the true jade, nephrite, to the eager amateurisant noblemen of China. The jade came from the waters of the rivers flowing down through the city of Khotan from the Kun-lun mountains to the South.[1] In the indigenous documents,[2] this river is called *Ranījai ttāja* 'the river of precious stone', using the prestigious foreign Indian word *rana-*, older *ratna-*, in place of the local word in epistolary use, *īra-* 'jade' which was used also to render Buddhist Sanskrit *śilā-*, a word for any stone, and for *vajra-* 'diamond'. From this *śilā-* in adjectival form *śaila-* the Buddhist traditions has handed down the river name *Śailodā-* 'the waters of precious stone'.[3] The modern Turkish use is *Qara Qaš* and *Yörüng Qaš* 'black and white jade'. The Chinese wrote the Khotan Saka word *īra-* with the sign 乙 *i* < *iət* (K 176, Jap. *itsu, ichi*) in the personal name *Īrasanga*, Chinese *I-səng*, the name of the famous painter, one of whose paintings of the *devarāja* still survives.[4] Going towards the West the Chinese traveller passed through the *Gūkämana-* 'the jade Gate', Chinese 玉門 *ü-mən* < *ngiok-muən* (K 1318,609, Jap. *gioku-mon*) near Tun-huang on his way to Khotan. This is the Khutan of the Šāhnāmah legend of Siyāvaš.

With our modern knowledge of the documents written by the people of Khotan, it is possible to fill out the dusty jejune Annals of the Chinese dynastic histories, the biographies of the great Chinese commanders of armies and the reports of the Chinese learned who sought Indian wisdom in the Buddhist Colleges of Khotan.

These Colleges called in Tibetan *gćug-lag-khang*, the Buddhist Sanskrit *vihāra-*, familiar further West in the *Nava-vihāra, Nau-bahār*, of the city of Balkh (Bactra) in the 7th century when the Muslim Arabs made incursions to the East, were the religious halls (*sanghārāma-*) of the Indian Buddhist

monks, the *bhikṣu-*, who were now the *ārya-* monks, the nobles of the *Ārya-sangha-* 'noble community', beside the *Āryikā-sangha-* of the noble women *bhikṣuṇī-*. The Tibetans used their word *hphags-pa* and the Chinese their word 聖 *śəng* (*śiäng*, K 1205)[6] to render *ārya-*. These *Ārya-* 'nobles' are very active in the history of Khotan.

A list of these foundations with the names of their founders is preserved in a Tibetan text in the sacred canon of the Tanjur in a record of the many munificent acts of the kings and queens and ministers of Khotan.[7] One of our extant texts, a long poem, the Jātaka-stava 'Praises of the Buddha's births' states that it was written in the Sāmanyāna college (*sāmanyāña bisaṃja*).[8]

The names under which for 2200 years this place Khotan has been known are the following. In Khotan itself there has been found one document[9] in Kharoṣṭhī script dated to the regnal year of the god the great king Vijita Siṃha of Khotana with the titular in north-western Prakrit of Gandhāra *khotana maharaya rayatiraya hinajha dheva vijʾida siṃha* in his 10th year (*saṃvatsara-*) beginning 'in this *kṣuṇa-*' (the period of a regnal year). The name Vijita Siṃha occurs in other sources. The title *hinajha*, elsewhere *hīnāysa-*, renders Bud. Skt. *senāpati-* 'troop-commander'. The epithet *deva* 'god', rendered into Khotan Saka *gyasta-*, *jasta-*, occurs also with other royal names.

This Kharoṣṭhī document belongs with the many other documents from Kroraina (Lou-lan)[10] from the kingdom of Shan-shan around the years 300 A.D. In the local Khotan texts extending for about 700 years (300–1000) the oldest form of the name is *hvatana*, then *hvatäna*, *hvataṃ*, becoming later *hvaṃna* and *hvana*, *hvani*, and latest *hvaṃ-kṣīra-*.[11] The name was recorded by Hüan-tsang about 640, in the contemporary spoken language, as *huan-na*, which is the secondary Khotan Saka form *hvaṃna-*; texts with *hvatana-* are either earlier or use an archaic spelling. The initial *hva-* would normally represent a voiceless *hu̯a-* or *xu̯a-*; initial *gv-* was written for the voiced fricative *γu̯-* (in foreign names *ha*: may be used for *γa-*). But as elsewhere, as in New Persian 10th century *γazarān* could be written for *xazarān* 'the Khazars',[12] beside Zoroastrian Pahlavī *hčl'n* **xazarān*, so a voiced replacement is found in Bud. Skt. *gostana-deśa-* and in the oldest Chinese spelling 于闐 *ü-tʻien* from older *jiu-dʻien*, and in the Han period possibly *gou-den* (*hou-den*, where *h-* is a laryngal).[13] In Khotan Saka the adjectival forms occur: *hvatanau*, *hvaṃno* 'in the Khotan language', with the usual *-au* in reference to language, like Ossetic *-āu* (as *ironau* 'in the Iron language'); and *hvanya-*[14] in the phrases *hvaṃnye phari jsa* 'in Khotan language', *hvanya kṣīra* 'in the Khotan land' and *hvaṃnī hauna* 'in Khotan

speech'. Sogdian Manichaean has the adjective *xwδnyk*; and possibly Tumšuq Saka *hvaḍane* 'own (?)' is the same.

The name has retained its old form Khotan (*xutan* خُتَن) in New Persian and from the Turkī of Sin-kiang on modern maps *Khotan*. Earlier Marco Polo gave *Cotan* and a medieval *Quotan* is cited.[15]

The full Chinese title *tai-pau ü-tʻien kuo* is spelled out in Khotan Saka *ttayi-pū yū-ttyenä kuhä*: *jinave* and *ttaya-pū yū-ttyaina kauūhą* 'the land Khotan of the great precious stone'. Alone *yūttiṃna* has been found once,[16] under the influence of China. Similarly, although the Tibetans used *Li* for 'Khotan', *Li-rǰe* 'lord of Khotan', they also had the Chinese pronunciation in *Hu-ten*, *Hu-then*, *Hu-den* and *Yvu-then*.[17] Under the Buddhist Sanskrit influence, the Khotan Saka had in Bud. Skt. texts *gaustana-deśa* (*-au-* for *-o-*), *gāṃstana-deśai*, in a Khotan Saka text *gāṃsta raudä* 'of the Khotan king'. By replacement of *-aṃ* (from *-anä*) by *-ama-* instead of the older *-ana-*, the name appears once as *gaustama-deśa*.[18] The local name *hvatana* assures the older *-ana-*.

The original meaning of *hvatana-* is a difficulty. Meanings of place-names or tribal names are often likely to be irrecoverable. Hvatana could be the tribal name of the Saka people who settled in Khotan before their record begins in the second century B.C. in Chinese reports. If the word meant 'lords' or the like it could be traced to *hva-* 'own, owned' like the adverb *hvatä* 'of one's own' (Avestan *xvatō*, Zor. Pahl. *xvat*).

Then *hvatana-* could be compared for meaning with the Khotan Saka *hiye* 'owner, master' and *hiyauda-* 'lord' from the same *hva-*, together with *hivya-*, Tumšuq Saka *hawya-*. New Persian *xvāǰah* 'master, lord' (the familiar modern Egyptian *yä xwägä* 'sir') derives with different suffixes (*-ā-ča-ka-*) from the same *hva-*. Note also Khotan Saka *hīvāma-* 'one's own'[19] and Old Indian *svāmin-* 'owner, master'. I hesitate to see a connexion of *hvatana-* with *hotana-* 'strong', although it is likely that the name of the Heftal people may be in origin the same as the Khotan Saka *hītala*, New Persian Bukhārā *haitāl* 'strong'.[20] But *hvatana-* might equally be a geographical name for the oasis either before the Saka settlement or after.

By the year 1000 of our era Yūsuf Qadir Khān, entitled *malik i ṣīn* 'lord of China', brother of the ruler of Kāšγar, Abū-'l Ḥasan Naṣr, Ḥasan Boγra Khān (from 993) was in possession of Khotan. So after a long struggle the irresistible Turks who are documented frequently in the extant Khotan diplomatic despatches had extinguished the Buddhist kingdom of Hvatana. Within a century, it is likely that the local language was wholly replaced by Turkish. Around Kāšγar in villages in the 11th century, there was still spoken the old Kāšγarī (Iranian) language called by al-Kāšγarī the

Kančakī language. The Tibetan had used *Ga-hǰag* (**kančak-*) as the name of Kāšγar.

The Khotan land, the Hvaṃ-kṣīra, is described by the bold travelling Chinese Buddhist pilgrims Fa-hien, Hüan-tsang, Sung-jün, Huei-ṭṣ'au, and later it is described in the T'ang-ṣu (T'ang dynastic history) and by Marco Polo. Possibly once again as the Chinese Republic recovers its poise as of the past and seeks détente, travellers may visit this famous Khotan site. It is now Turkish-speaking, but, it seems, largely non-Turk in physique.

The external history[21] is recoverable from Chinese documents. For this present survey of the culture in Khotan, the following brief account will suffice. We are indebted to M. Aurel Stein in his book Ancient Khotan and to Paul Pelliot in his Notes on Marco Polo under the word *Cotan* for copious information.[22] The dominant theme is the almost continuous distraction from outside by the Great Powers China[23] and Tibet or the ravages of smaller groups of nomadic invaders.

There is a poet's verse pointing to the marauding nomads who devastated 'our Khotan land (*hvatäna kṣīra-*)'. This verse (Z 15.9) in oldest Khotanese reads as follows:

> *māṃkuya rro īndä heinā-khoca u huna ciṃgga supīya kye nä hvatäna-kṣīru bajottāndä.*

The word *māṃkuya* will require consideration in Chapter 5. But the rest is clear: 'then Red Faces (that is Tibetan *gdoṅ-dmar,* Tibetans), and the Huna (Huns, Chinese Hiung-nu), the Chinese, the Supīya (south-east of Khotan) have devastated[24] our Khotan land'.

These ethnic names will occupy us later. But in spite of all these dangers the Buddhist culture had flourished in writing, painting and religion.

About 471 A.D. the Ẓuan-ẓuan were attacking Khotan which asked help of China. Also in the 5th century the Tibetan Annals of Khotan refer to incursions of the Turks (*dru-gu*). The Heftal were in control between 502 and 550. With the new expansion of T'ang China Khotan became one of the Chinese organisation of the Four Garrisons, Kuča, Tokmak (later Qarašahr), Kāšγar and Khotan. Turks attacked in 659 and the Tibetans in 665. From 714 to 790, the Tibetans repulsed the Chinese from Khotan. The Uigur Turks, settled from 840 in Turfan, forced the Tibetans back from 860 on. In 958 the Khotan king Li Ṣang-t'ien could send an embassy to China. In 966 his own son became king of Khotan. The Turks of Kāšγar from 971 to the end of the century were in a violent struggle with Khotan. By 1006 Yūsuf Qadir Khān was ruling Khotan. A Muslim embassy came to China from Khotan in 1009.

Fa-hien[25] stayed an additional three months in Khotan to observe the religious festivals after his companions had gone with an Iranian (*hu*) guide

on to Kāšγar. He told of fourteen (the Korean text gave four) great *sanghārāma* monasteries. According to the Tibetan Annals of Khotan there were 68 large *vihāras.*[26] Fa-hien described a typical festival, where the streets sprinkled, a large awning was put over the city gate for the royal group (in the poetry this is the *prāma-*). The *ārya-*monks of the Gomati monastery of the Mahāyāna school led the procession with a lofty car adorned with the precious *ratna-*stones; upon it were figures of the Buddha and bodhisattvas and deva-gods. The king held in his hands flowers and perfume, and he walked to meet the car. The queen and her court scattered flowers. Each monastery in turn held a procession. It was a festival of the fourth month from the first to the fourteenth day. The king, he thought, greatly honoured the Mahāyāna. There were, he reported, some thousands of *ārya-*monks whom he called *səng* 僧 (Bud. Skt. *sangha-*).

Sung-jün in 518 visited Khotan and in his account he described the peculiar king's headdress. On ceremonial occasions the drums, horns, and cymbals were sounded. On the king's death they founded a memorial temple and provided a cult. He has also a legend of the conversion of the king of Khotan to Buddhism by a miracle of Vairocana, a *bhikṣu-*monk.

In his Record of the Western Regions Hüan-tsang[27] has a very long account of Khotan. He visited the many sights of the city, telling the various legends of the many shrines. To the south of the city was a large *sanghārāma* monastery dedicated to Vairocana *arahant.* At the Gośṛnga hill, in Chinese called the *Niu-t'ou ṣan,* in Khotan Saka script both *Gū-ttau-ṣanä* and *Gū-thū-śanä,* southwest of the city is a *sanghārāma* in one of the valleys. Another *sanghārāma* southwest of the city is one named after the *deva Ditkabaṃnī, Daittakabanī, Ditkabanī,* and *Dikabanī,* in Tibetan *Hdeb-ta-ba-ni,* in Chinese *Ti-kia-p'o-fu-na* from an older *D'i-ka-b'uâ-b'iwak-nâ*[28] built by a former minister of Kuci. To the west of the city lay the *Sāmanyāna-*monastery, called in Chinese *So-mo-ẓo* from older *Sa-mua-ńźiak* (K 846,593,938 娑摩若). This is the college in which the Jātaka-stava poem was translated from Buddhist Sanskrit. The statement is in the verse 4 *ttrivīlai mestä sāmanyāñä bisaṃja si vedyaśīlä nāma khu ācārī devä* 'in the Sāmanyāna *bhikṣu-sangha,* the great knower of the three sacred collections (*tripiṭaka-*) named Vedyaśīla, like the Ācārya Deva'. To the southeast he saw a convent called *Lu-ṣï,*[29] older *Luk-dźiäk* founded by a former queen. This will be the queen's name, an Iranian *Ruγžākā* 'the desired one' (from *rauk-* 'to desire'). She was the princess of whom the story of the transmission of silk worms from China to Khotan was related. A picture of this story was found by M. Aurel Stein on a painted panel at Dandan-öilik, reproduced in his Ancient Khotan (plate 63).

In the state of Khotan itself Hüan-tsang noticed that a large part of the

land was in desert condition, with little arable, but fertile land where it could be cultivated. He remarked on the white and green jade. Cultural life of literature and the arts, in music, song and dance was excellent. One hundred *sanghārāmas* were studying the Mahāyāna, which Hüan-tsang himself favoured. The king was sufficiently Indianised to claim lineal descent from Vaiśravaṇa *deva*.[30] This Vaiśravaṇa was originally the *deva Kubera*, god of wealth, and he dwelt to the north of Mount Sumeru. His name occurs frequently in the Khotan Saka texts as *Vaiśravaṇa-* and *Vaiśramaṇa-*, but in various shorter forms due to popular use, so *Vrrīśamaṃ, Vrrīśama lauka-pāla*, and shortest *Vrrīśma gyasta* (*deva-* god). The Uigur Turkish has *Bisamin*, and Japanese *Bišamon*. The Chinese reported a close connection of Vaiśramaṇa with Khotan. In Khotan Hüan-tsang heard also the tradition of Aśoka's legend, which is stressed also in the Tibetan Annals of Khotan.

Huei-ṭṣ'au[31] passing through Khotan about 726 A.D. on his way to India and Central Asia had little to say about Khotan but he noted one Chinese temple *sï* 寺 in the city, that is, a Buddhist *vihāra*.

The Persian Geography, the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, written in 982, has (14a) a section on Khotan. He wrote, Khotan is situated between two rivers. The commodities of the inhabitants are mostly raw silk. The king of Khotan lives in great state and calls himself ruler of Turk and Tibet (*al-Turk wa 'l-Tubbat*). This land turns out 70,000 warriors. The *ǰašm* (jade stone) comes from the rivers of Khotan.

But Khotan remained after the Turks turned the Tarim Basin and its oases, the small kingdoms of Buddhist tradition, into the Muslim Turkistān. The spread of Islam in the Tarim Basin seems to have been peaceful, according to the Turcologist D. Sinor (On Turkish Buddhism in Central Asia, 1939), with mosque beside the Buddhist shrine. After the coming of Chingiz Khan and the Mongols, Marco Polo[32] passed through during the Pax Mongolica and he noted the products of industry and objects of commerce, being himself a merchant. In his book Le divisament dou monde (early 14th century) Marco Polo has a section on Khotan: Cotan is a province between north-east and east and is eight days' long. They belong to the Great Khan. The people all worship Muhammad. There are many cities and castles; and the most noble and that is capital of the kingdom is called Cotan. It is the name of the province. It has abundance of all things. Much cotton is grown there. They have vines and properties and many gardens. They live off merchandise and crafts. They are not men of arms. Ramusio's text adds: There grow cotton, flax and hemp, wheat, vines and others.

A. Rémusat took from the encyclopedia Pien-i-tien the collected account of Khotan in Chinese dynastic annals and that collection is presented by M. Aurel Stein in his Ancient Khotan I 166–184. To supplement all this material there is Paul Pelliot's monograph from Chinese evidence on Cotan in his Notes on Marco Polo citing material beyond the end of the Buddhist kingdom of Khotan.[33]

The archaeological, geographical, scientific expeditions stimulated by chance finds reaching the learned of Europe from Chinese Turkestan were undertaken in the period 1901–1914. They are detailed in the book by J. A. Dabbs,[34] History of the discovery and exploration of Chinese Turkestan, 1963, pp. 117–143. Here are the names of M. Aurel Stein, K. Otani, G. Merzbacher, E. Huntington, A. Grünwedel, A. von le Coq and T. Bartus, Sven Hedin, Paul Pelliot, Z. Tachibana. Such work continued into the 1930s. The history of the collections from the Tun-huang temple is further traced by Akira Fujieda in his study of The Tunhuang Manuscripts, in the Memoirs of the research institute for humanistic studies, the Zinbun, Kyoto University, 1966.

On the popular level, E. Maillart's Forbidden Journey, 1937, recorded her visit to Keriya and Khotan; B. Davidson in 1957 wrote his account of contemporary Sin-kiang in his book Turkestan alive with brief second hand allusion to the period before Islam, P. Poucha published in his book Do nitra Azie, 1962 the report of a journey to the same region. There is a partial summary of this book of Poucha in E. Knobloch's book Beyond the Oxus, 1972, 219 ff., in his survey of the archaeology, art, and architecture of Central Asia.

An Institute for the study of the Tun-huang antiquities has been established here of which I saw in 1978 photographs in the Gulbenkian Museum in Durham.

An anthropologist[35] has published the scientific result of his measurements which prove a non-Turkish physique among the modern Khotanese. These are the traits of people like the Iranian-speaking indigenes of the high Pamirs. It is noteworthy that the Wakhī language of Wakhān has features, phonetics, and vocabulary, the nearest of Iranian dialects to Khotan Saka.

Here then the investigation of ancient Khotan Saka written records offers its important contribution to the history of Chinese Turkistan before the Turks; the Sin-kiang which received its name New Province only in 1759.

These are the monuments of a tribe of the Saka peoples after they had settled into small kingdoms in the Tarim Basin. The *Saka*[36] name is earliest

known in the Achaemenian inscriptions of Dareios (older Dārayavahuš, Dareiaios) I and Xerxes. So Dareios Persepolis h 5–6 *hačā sakaibiš tayaiy para Sugdam*; Dar. Pers. 18 *gandāra sakā makā*; Xerx. Pers. h 20 *dahā sakā*. Herodotos 7.64 reported that the Persians called all the Σκύθαι of the Greeks by the name Σάκαι (repeated in Plinius, Natural History 6.50). Catullus 11.6 has *Hyrcanos Arabesque . . . seu Sacas . . . Parthos*. The Roman map, the Tabula Peutingeriana has *Saga*, northwest of Kāšγar the Chinese reported in the second century B.C. a kingdom of the *Sək*,[37] and knew them widely extended north of the Śītā (Tarim) river and Bactria. Within the post-Achaemenian domain the word survived very widely. The Greek Isidōros Kharakēnos (in the time of Augustus) has Σακαστανη; the inscription of Šāhpuhr I has Parthian 2 *skstn*, Greek Σεγεστανη. In the sixth century A.D., Agathias has Σεγεστανῶν and σαγαν σαα. Latin has *Segestani*. In India the Mathurā Lion capital inscription has *Saḳastana* (with a modified *k* for fricative *γ*). Prakrit of the Jainas has *Saka* and *Saga*; in Hindu Sanskrit occur *Śaka, Śakasthānam*. Bāṇa, Harṣacarita has (200.1) *Candraguptaḥ śakapatim aśātayat* 'Candragupta slew the lord of Śakas'. Buddhist Sanskrit has *śakānī lipi* 'writing of the Śaka' with *s*- replaced by *ś*-. In Sasanian inscriptions[38] occur *skst'n MLKA* for *sakān-šāh* and *sk'n MLKTA* for *sakān bānbišn*. Zoroastrian Pahlavī has a spelling which gives older *sagastān* and *sayistān* (*y* and *g* coalesced). The Middle Iranian of Turfan has Persian *sgst'n*, Sogdian in Christian text has *sgst'n*, Syriac *sgstn* and adjective *sgzyq*- **sagzīq*; Armenian is again older with *sakastan, sakstan, sagastan* and adjective *sagčik, sačik*, New Persian *saīstān*, adjective *sagzī*, beside Arabic *saǰastān, siǰistān*, and *sagān-šāh*.

In Khotan Saka documents there are possibly connected names. Thus *Sakāṃ* and *Sakāñä Ṣanīrä*.[39] A name of similar form *Ceṃgāña*-[40] is the same as *Ciṃgāña*- 'Chinese', so that *sakāña*- may mean 'Sakan'.

A place-name *Saka*- occurs in the title *Saka-rāja*- beside the titles *Bharuka-rāja* of Aqsu and *Hecyuka-rāja* of Üč. This place *Saka* is then the old name of Yar-kand transmitted by the Chinese *sua-kiwo*, later *so-kü*, the Greek in Ptolemaios, Geographia 5.15.4 σοτα, σοιτα for *σαγα.[41]

The Buddhist traditional list of names becomes in Khotan Saka *śśakauna yavana palvala* 'the Saka, Yavana (Greek), Pahlava (Parthian)'. The Mahābhārata (V 196.7) has *gāndhāra-rājaḥ śakuniḥ*. The invading tribes called in Latin *Sacaraucae*, in Greek (misspelled) Σακαραυλος, Σακαυρακοι and corresponding to the Chinese *Sək-uang*, later *Sai-wang* 'the Saka kings', were named with the later Khotan Saka word *rūka*- 'ruler' from **rauka*-.[42] The plant-name *saǰziyyah*[43] in Al-Bairūnī, *Kitāb al-ṣaidanah*, following upon *zābuliyyah* may well contain the older name *sagzī*. For the

Saka era in India Al-Bairūnī wrote *šaqqah*. The name has also been identified as *śk* in ancient Egypt.[44]

The origin of the name *Saka* as a tribal name I prefer to find in an adjective from the base *sak*- used of 'power' and of 'skill'. Hence it is the Old Indian word *śaka*- attested in the Rigvedic (RV 10.30.15) *su-śáka*- 'well made with skill, well empowered'.[45] A general of Pakoros (obiit 51 B.C.) was called ὠσακης *Ōsakēs*, which could well be from **hu-saka*- 'very strong', different from the name οὐασακης, Armenian *Vasak*.

The discovery of indigenous records both under the sands of ruined oases of the Tarim Basin and finely preserved on stout yellow Chinese paper in the temple of Throana,[46] the Sogdian *δrw'n, δrw''n, δrw'n-knδyh*, Chinese *Tun-huang* of Ṣa-ṭṣou, have brought vivid contact with the people of the ancient Khotan, a new chapter in the history of Gostana-deśa, an outpost of Indian culture. In spite of their difficulty in a little known Iranian dialect shot through with Sanskrit and Prakrit technical terms, these new documents, literary, scientific, medical, administrative, and diplomatic have revealed the intimate background to the external history deduced from the Chinese dynastic annals and retrospectively from the later Muslim, Arab, Persian, or Turkish sources, or even later from the Mongol reports.

For the European scholar seeking to understand the world of the Greeks and Romans and their gropings to the East, there lay a dark cloud over the lands beyond Ariana and Parthia. The Greek kingdom of Bactria, lasting some 200 years, independent of the Hellenistic Seleucid empire,[47] lay on the western edge of a vast almost unknown territory. Alexander had set his uttermost city *Alexandreia eskhatē* on the Iaxartes where later stood Khōjand, Khokand. Medieval travellers in the Mongol period, particularly Marco Polo,[48] gave abundant new information, after his long sojourn in Qubilai's Khan-balïq. But for the first period of 1000 years of our era little in Sin-kiang had been known. Archaeological and geographical expeditions have transformed Western knowledge of this non-Turkish Turkestan when Indian ideas were dominant and probably Kaśmīra[49] was essentially in their thoughts and aspirations. It was the Buddhism developed in Kaśmīra that was cultivated in the Tarim Basin. In the Itinerary text the journey to the South ends in Kaśmīra.

When the Khotan kingdom in the early centuries, the second century B.C. to third century A.D., was independent, there were conflicts with the more powerful Saka kingdom (the later Yar-kand) and Kančak (Kāšγar). But for the most of its millennial monarchy the Khotan Saka state was under the suzerainty of Great Powers, mostly China, but for a time Tibet, and it

ultimately succumbed to the incursive Turks. Turfan had been occupied by Uigur Turks in 840.

Their flourishing period was during the T'ang dynasty of China. The T'ang-ṣu[50] in its report first listed the various names by which it had known Khotan. Thus *Ü-t'ien* (K 1317 *ü* < *jiu*; 1194 *t'ien* < *d'ien*), Khotan Saka *Yūttiṃna*; *Küsatanna* (K 490 *kü* < *kiu*; 1167 *sa* < *sât*; 966 *tan* < *tân*; 147 *na* < *nâ*), that is the Bud. Skt. *Gostana-deśa*; *Xuan-na* (K 99 *xuan* < *xuân*; *na* < *nâ*), that is the later Khotan Saka *hvaṃna*; *K'ü-tan* (K 493 *k'ü* < *k'iuət*; 965 *tan* < *tân*; *Ü-tun* (K 1317 ü < *jiu*; 1142 *tun* < *d'uən*; and *Xu-tan*, (57 *xu* < *xuât*; 916 *tan* < *tân*) like the modern name *Khotan*. The report states that there were 40,000 élite soldiers. It produced jade. The royal mansion was adorned with pictures. The people ingenious and fanciful, delight in the celestial cult and in the Buddhist doctrine. They are courteous in behaviour in social conduct. They have a wooden pen and seals of jade. From the Han period the kings have continued. The people are skilled in spinning and weaving. They delight in song and dance. Their royal family name was *Uei-ṭṣ'ï* (K 1312 *uei* < *wei*; 784 *ṭṣ'ï* < *d'i*), the local *Viśg, Vijaya-, Vijita-* and other spellings noted later. The T'ang Annals then detail the Chinese contacts with the royal family.

Khotan Saka society can now be illustrated from the indigenous texts. The state was a monarchy and various classes of the people are distinguished. The king was entitled *rrund-*,[51] nominative singular *rre*, with adjectives *rrundāna-* and *rrvīya-*. If this *rrund-* from **ruvant-* is connected with the word *parud-, parsta-, parau* 'command' the base is *rau-*, excluding *vrau-* and *mrau-*. Despatches to the Court were addressed (KT 2.93.3) *rrvī vī chū-bīrä vīrāṣṭä haṃdanāṣṭä aurāsą haṣḍä* 'report despatch to the Court, to the Inner Chamber within'. Here *chū-bīrä* is the Chinese *ṭṣ'u-mi* (K 494 *ṭṣ'u* < *tś'iu*; 617 *mi* < *miet*) 'Inner Minister'. For members of the royal family the names were from the base *raz-* 'to go straight, direct'. So *rrīṇā-* 'queen' from **razinā-* (from older suffix *-nī*); *rris-pūra-*, Tumšuq Saka *respura-* from **razi-puθra-*, and *rriys-dutar-* from **razi-duxtar-*. The *raz-* is also in *rrāysan-* 'ruling' rendering Bud. Skt. *īśvara-*, and the derived adjective *rrāysanonda-*. The hereditary nobles are cited as *bisī-viraa-, bisī-vrraa-* 'sons of the House' from **visaipuθra-*[52] (*-ai* from older *visas-* genitive singular, as in Avestan *vīsō.puθra-*), beside the individual *bäsī-vrāṣṣaa-* 'son of the house' rendering Bud. Skt. *kula-putra-* and *bäsī-vrāṣṣeiñe* 'daughter of the House', for Bud. Skt. *kula-duhitar-*. This compound of archaic type with genitive in the first component, as a social technical term, has a long history. The oldest dated usage is in the Achaemenian inscriptions Elam-Persian **misa-pusa*, rendered by Akkadian *mar biti*, Aramaic *br byt'* **bar baitā* (preserved also in Zor. Pahlavī *BL BYTA*). Later it is widespread: Sogdian (ancient letter 4.5) *wys-pyδr* from **vis-puθra-*, Bud. Sogdian *wyš-pš'k* and *wys-pyδr'k*, Manichean Sogdian *wys-pšyyḫ*, Christian Sogdian *wyš-pšy*; and for the daughter Bud. Sogdian *wys-δywth*, Turfan Parthian *wys-pwhr*, Persian *vis-puhrān, vis-duxtān*. An adjective is found in the Šāhpuhr I inscription Parth. 24 *wys-prkn*, Pers. *ws-plykn*, Greek *gouasperigan, ousperēgan*, Zor. Pahl. *vāspuhrakān*, Armen. loan-word *vaspourakan*. The simplex is also more widely used. Zor. Pahl. *vispūr, vispuhr*, New Pers. *vīs-duxt* (in Vēs u Rāmēn), Arab-Pers. *wsbwr*, Pāzand *vaspūr*, Oss. Digoron *guppur, guppurgin*tä, Iron *gŭppyr, gŭppyrsartä*, with *-pp-* from the southern *-θ-p-* (as *-θβ-* gave *-pp-* in *cuppar* 'four'). The same *gu-* from *vi-* is in the Ṣiṇā loan-word *guš-pūr* 'prince' and in the *guśuraka-* in Gāndhārī Prakrit (Seṇavarma inscription), with the connected Kuci-Sanskrit *gauśura-*, Tibetan *gauśurya* as a woman's name. Here **visaipura-* has passed by way of *gusy-* to *guś-* (like the Yaγnābī *bišūr* from New Pers. *bisyār*, Zor Pahl. *vasēkār* 'many'). The Babylonian has preserved an old form in *umasupitruu*. With the loss of initial *i-* from older *vi-* (a feature frequent in later Alan Ossetic Iron) the Armenian has kept *sepouh*, adjective *sephakan*, and the Georgian has kept also the *-r-* in *zepurni* and *sa-zepuro* but in both cases the meanings have developed from the original Iranian connexion with the Great House.

This Iranian social structure attracted the attention of the Greeks who invented a word οἰκαρχία 'rule of the House' for what in the Parthian and Sasanian periods was the administration called *katak-xvatāyān*, in Arabic the *mulūk al-ṭawāif*, the 'lords of the Great Houses'.

A contact with divinity was asserted by the use of the word *baga-*. The title is on Sasanian coins *mazdēsn bay*. The Dēnkart (edited Madan) has 413.9 *im bay* 'his present Majesty'. This same *baga-* can be traced in the Khotan Saka title *vūvayuṃ drūpaḍä* 'princess Drūpadī', deriving from older *baga-yauna-* 'of divine origin'. The Old Persian *baga-* is rendered in Akkadian by *ilu*. But the word at first meant 'distributor' (Parsi-Sanskrit *vibhaktar-*).

The family was an important concept. It was called *gvāna-* (used in dyadic sense with Bud. Skt. *gotra-*).[53] Birth was important. The usual kinship terms were employed: *päte* 'father', *māta* 'mother', *mārā-pätara* 'parents', *pūra-* 'son', *dūta* 'daughter', gen. sing. *dvīrä, nattalūna* 'descendant', *brāte*, plur. *brātari* 'brother', *hvara-, hvāra-, hvaraka-* 'sister', *ṣū* 'son' (from **višūta-*) in KT 2.26.328 *spāta ṣū* like KT 2.26.31.6 *spāta pūri*; *pālīka-putra-* 'of secondary birth', *kṣundaa-* 'husband' (from *fšuyant-*), *nārā-* 'wife', *mijṣę* 'lady' (from **mazišī-*), *hiye, hiyaudi* 'master', *bujsaṃjā-* 'lady' (base *baug-*).

Birth into the Great House contrasting with the unfree was expressed by

ā-ysāta-, familiar in many Iranian dialects, a basic status of Iranian life'. This birth is stressed Z 3.64 *harbiśśä āysāta ne ju ye bīsa karä* 'all high-born, not anyone servant at all'. The aspiration to a new birth is KBT 65, 82r3-4 *baiśa ysaṃtha daha ysyāne āysā krraña* 'in all births may I be born male, high-born, rewarding services (Bud. Skt. *kṛta-jña-*)'. The Avesta has *āzāta-* and the strengthened *hvāzāta-*; it is in Aram.-Pers. *'zt* (**āzāta-*); Zor. Pahl. *āzāt, āzātak* and here the same contrast in the Zāmāsp-nāmak 36 *bandakān pat rāh ī āzātān ravēnd* 'slaves go upon the road of the nobles' (a prophecy of ill). The Draxt asōrīk 35 notices the *mōčak ī saxtak ī āzātān* 'the boot of prepared leather of the nobles'. The word *saxtaka-* is recorded also in the Hiung-nu language as *sayday* (Chinese modern *so-to*) and also in the Ket language *sāgdi* 'boot' where the final *-i* is through *-aka-* to *-aya-* to *-ai, -ē* to *-ī*. Turfan Parthian and Persian also *āzāδ, āzāδīft, āzāδīh*; this abstract is preserved also in medieval Armen. *aztih* (for older *azatih*). Sasanian inscription *'z'tn *āzātān*; Sogd. *āzāt, āzātak*, and loan-words Georgian *azat'-i*, Armen. *azat, azata-tohm*. Khotan Saka *āysāta-* is found in Kroraina *ajhate*. In Greek ἀζάτη is cited with the meaning 'freedom'. The same concept of high birth is expressed also by the adjective *āysña-*, cognate with the Avestan *āsna-*. The importance set on birth is seen in the Avestan *haδō.zāta-*, Armenian *harazat*, and *payazat*. Here too the Khotan Saka has *paysāta-* of the germane members of the same family.

The contrast to *āysāta-* noble', hence 'free', is in the servants. Here there are the *bīsa-* 'house servant'; the women *biśśä, bīśaka-*, and the attendants *pārysa-* (**pari-varza-*).[54] A touch of affectionate feeling in a grim age is suggested in KBT 52.7.8 *tti mūnā pārysā ysūṣka* 'these my beloved attendants'. Related are Sogdian *prw'rz* 'care', and Turfan Parthian *prwrz, prwrz'g*, 'attendant'. The two words are combined in KT 2.125.21 *pārysya bīśaka* 'may I be born a woman attendant (and) servant'. Pupils to a teacher however are *biṣṭa-* rendering Bud. Skt. *śiṣya-*, hence the working disciple, like Avestan *hāvišta-* to the base *vaiš-* 'to work for another', and Old Indian *viṣṭi-*. Here one may put Ossetic *uisän* 'obedience', *äṇäfäuisän* 'importunate' from the base *vaiš-* (the Ossetic *-s-* has however many origins). The *kīragara-, kīraraa-* is the 'workman'. For the house there is the *māśavīraa-* 'house worker', and probably also *piracāraa-* and *piravīraa-* 'domestic man'.

The official titles containing as second component *pati-* are very frequent in Iranian texts. Here in Khotan Saka are *spātā-* 'military official' from *spāda-pati-* with the development of the *-ā* stem from older *-i*. So also *pharṣavatā-*, with later forms *pharṣṣa, pharṣa* 'judge' if traced to **fraša-* 'questioning'. Of Buddhist Sanskrit both *sainavā*, that is, *senāpati-* 'captain'

and *dānavatä, dānave* 'patron of gifts' occur. The Hūṇa inscription of Toramāṇa (circa 500 A.D.) has *naścīrapati-* 'huntsman' and the Seṇavarma inscription (in which Kuyula Kataphśa is named) has in Kharoṣṭhī script *ṇavhapati-* 'chief of family or people (*nāfa-*)'. The same *pati* is found often in western Iranian words as Armen. *špet* 'shepherd' (**fšu-pati-*), and Zor. Pahl. *hazārapat* 'chiliarch'. The older language has similar words, as Avestan *aēθra-paiti-*. Of artisans there occur *bārraa-* 'sculptor', *hvāraka-* 'painter', *pīsaa-* 'teacher' and *pīsaa-* 'painter', *āysdagaraa-* 'watcher' and *kḡka-* 'guard', *kāla-* 'a title', *kalā-tcyaraa-* 'a title', *malysaka-* 'majordomo', rendering Bud. Skt. *gṛhapati-*. There are also foreign titles *grahtä* 'householder, majordomo' from Bud. Skt. *gṛhapati-, parṇāyakä* 'captain', from Bud. Skt. *pariṇāyaka-*. Further are *rūka-* 'ruler', *hīnāysa-* 'troop-commander' rendering Bud. Skt. *senāpati-, barauca-* 'subordinate ruler', *hāruva-* 'merchant' for Bud. Skt. *śreṣṭhin-*, later *hārva-, ṣṣau, ṣau* 'subordinate ruler, governor'. Bud. Skt. *āmātya-* occurs as *āmāca-* and *āmākya-* 'intimate of the Court', but also a Chinese title for the king of Khotan. The envoys were *haḍa-* and *pgsa-*.

The Khotan Saka *māmattī* occurs as title to a personal name in KT 4.4.6 *bye māmattī arsa* 'the witness the *māmattī*-official Arsa'. This is the word transmitted in Chinese 摩諦; 德 K 593,986,981 *mo-mo-ti, mo-mo-tə* from *mua-mua-ti*, and *-tək*, that is, *māmattī* and *māmattika-* from a Prakrit form of Bud. Skt. *mahākarmantīya-* and *-tika-* 'great servant' for the equivalent of Bud. Skt. and Pali *āvāsika-* 'official in charge of *vihāra*-property'.

The title *stānaḍa-* from **stāna-kṛta-* 'appointed to a post' is like Georgian loan-word *ost'at'-i*, New Persian *ustād* 'appointee'.

Many Chinese titles occur in the official texts.[55] Thus there are *tsī-ṣī* 'administrator of a district' *tsī-ṣī*, with variant in KT 2.72,0018.2 *tcī-ṣī āmāca ṣṣau Viṣaraka salya* 'in the year of the governor, the amātya-official and vice-ruler Viṣaraka'.

The following can be cited here. Thus *tuttevä tu-t'ou, śī-kū ṣəng-kün, hvū:śiṃna fu-ẓən, thaiya-ttīki t'ai-tə tcai-syāṃ tsai-siang, śai-tcūnä ṣī-tsun, cāṃ-ṣṣī, ṭṣang-ṣī, ttai-ṣṣī t'ai-ṣi, tcer-thū-śī, tsie-tu-ṣī, paki-sina, po-sing, kū-thaiga-ṣī, kung-tə-ṣī, tte-pū t'ai-pau, ttāttāha*: *tu-tu* (Tibetan *todog*, Turfan Pers. *tūtūx*), *ḍekuṃ ḍaikú ling-kung, phanä-kyanä p'an-kuan, tteyi-hyāṃ t'ai-uang, pūhyä pu-ie*.

The Tibetan *buluna* 'minister', Tib. *blon, khrraṃ-bānä* 'accountant', Tib. *khram* 'register, account' and *dpon* 'chief', *chāsi-kī gaṣī ysīnī*, Tib. *chos-kyi gźi-hdzin* 'official in charge of the religious goods in a *vihāra*', *gnaṣą-prattanä* 'elder', Tib. *gnas-brtan*.

From Turkish occur *bīrūka- buiruq* 'commander', *hahana-* 'khagan', *hana* 'khan', *ttagraima- 'täŋgrim,* princess', *bgraka-* 'prince', *bägräk, uga, ūga, auga, ūha, ügä, chārä čor, sahā:nä sayun, digyina tägin, īnaḍa- ïnal, bādūna- budun, ttarkana- tarxan* (Kuci *tarhkāne, tārhkane*), *hgttuna- xatun, qatun.*

The abundance of texts of many kinds permit a full understanding of ordinary Khotan life. It will be valuable to list here the utensils, the metals and minerals, instruments and textiles.

Of the utensils there is a long list, though the precise type of vessel cannot be established. There are here **kūysa-* (spelled *kauysa-*) 'jar' in *utcäla kauysä* 'water-jar', *kūsa-* 'vat', *tcaṣṭa* 'cup', like Armen. loan-word *čašak,* Old Indian *caṣaka-, thāṃsaka-* 'cup', *phara, pharhya* 'water-jar', *phaysdve* 'vessel for liquids', (these two connected with Armen. loan-words *p'arč'* and *p'as*), with Sasanian inscription *pās,* Greek πασατας, πασσους, *phalau* 'dish', possibly with Greek φιάλη; *bagala-* 'vessel', *bajsārra-* 'mortar', *lakāna-* 'vessel' with Greek λεκάνη, *vara* 'vessel', *saka-* 'griddle', *hamau, hamauka* 'bowl' rendering Bud. Skt. *pātra-*. The Bud. Skt. *pātra-* is taken over as *pātta,* and *pāttära-*; *bājina-, bājaṃ* is likely to be Bud. Skt. *bhājana-*; and *pāñagala-* is a Prakrit form of Bud. Skt. *pānīya-ghaṭa-* 'water-jar'; *vasī* 'vessel (as a measure)'.

The metals and minerals[56] are well represented: *ysīrra-* 'gold', *āljsata-* 'silver', adjective *āljseinaa-, tralo* 'tin', *dūra-* 'clod', *daujsä* 'lead', *paṃjalau* 'bell metal, the fivefold alloy', *śāva-* 'copper', *hīśśana-* 'iron', *īra-* 'stone, jade', *bīma-* 'rock', *ūḍāra-* 'crystal', *uysma-* 'clay', *ggūla-* 'clay', *mūla-* 'clay', *grīha-* 'mud, clay', adjective *greña-, grīṃja, karkīyana-* 'chalcedony', *gatsä, gītsāra-* 'gypsum', *namva* 'salt', *mūrā-* 'precious stone (and coin)', *mrāhā-* 'pearl', *ysamye* 'vitriols', *ysīrā* 'red arsenic', *ysirai* 'yellow arsenic', *saṃka, saka* 'coral', *saṃga-, saga-* 'stone', *siyatā-* 'sand', *skara-* 'coals', *svaṃdūṃ* 'sulphur'. The equivalent of Oss. Iron *cängät* 'cast iron' has not been met in Khotan Saka (from the colour name *kank-*). Foreign words are further *aśmagarba-* 'emerald', *ratana-, raṃna-, rene* 'precious stone', Bud. Skt. *ratna-, vīrulyā-* 'beryl', Bud. Skt. *vaiḍūrya-, gīrai* 'red ochre', Bud. Skt. *gairika-, spajūṃ* 'alum', Bud. Skt. *sauvarcala-, sidaluṃ* 'salt', Bud. Skt. *saindhava-* and *lavaṇa-, sauvīra-* 'antimony', *vaṣära-* 'diamond', Bud. Skt. *vajra-, sphālye, sphālya, spālyata* 'crystal', Bud. Skt. *sphaṭika-maṇi-*. Possibly *ysimarye* is connected with Greek σμάραγδος, Old Indian *marakata-* 'emerald'.

Note that Turkish *qaš* 'jade' is likely to be from North Iranian to a base *kās-* 'green, blue' in Zor. Pahl. *kāsakēnak,* New Pers. *kāskēnah* 'green magpie', *kāsānah* 'a green bird', Old Pers. *kāsaka* of blue stones (*kapautaka-, axšaina-*), adjective *kāsakaina-*. The palatalised *č-* and the *-š-* from *-ks-* is found in Khotan Saka *tcāṣa-, cāṣa-,* Old Ind. *cāṣa-* 'the bird jay'. The Turkish has also the form with *č-* in *yäšil čäš* 'green turquoise' from Iranian *čāša-,* beside the form **kāša-*. The two stones will have been known to the Turks from Khotan.

The instruments are various. There are *kāḍara-* 'sword', *hälśti* 'spear', *durna-* 'bow', *pūrnā-* 'arrow', *haṣkarā* 'pincers', *pitcīyi* 'spoon', beside the Tibetan *thura-ma* 'spoon', *pīlīrūvī* 'pipes', *hīśinaka-* 'iron tool', *bara-, baraka* 'box', *paha-* 'bag', *paśaṃjsana-* 'a thing (of leather)'. The verb *ustar-* refers to 'shaving'. Two Indian words are *āṣi* 'a kind of axe' (possibly Old Indian **āṃsya-*) and *kathiri, kauthaira* 'axe' made of iron, with Khowar *kuter,* Bud. Skt. *kuṭhāra-*. There are also *paḍu* (acc. sing.), *paḍe* (plural) 'axe'; *gūhaiñä, gvahgiñä* 'knife'; *gvehaiśkye, gvahaiśkye* 'a medical probe', Bud. Skt. *śalya-*; *bajsīha-* 'pestle', *patämaṃthanä, patämaṃthä, pamaṃthä, pamatha* 'arrow', *gahai* 'arrow-shaft', *kalama-* 'reed as a pen' (wooden pens have been found), *aiysna, eysnạ* 'awl' and *nauṣṭara-* 'lancet'.

Dress too is very prominent in these texts. The indigenous words, which cannot all be closely defined, are the following. Thus *āysīra-* 'covering, cuirass', *īṃjīnaa-* 'leathern', *auvya-* 'weft', *kangā-* 'skin', *kamaiśkä, karasta-* 'cloak', *kaimeja* 'dress', *kaumadai* 'trousers', *khapa-* 'dress', *khai* 'garb', *khoca* 'hat', *khauysa* 'rag', *khauśka, khauṣa* 'boot', *cile* 'dress', *cauṣka-* 'headdress', *ttaṣakana-* 'shirt', *ttāva-* 'crown', *ttīraha-* 'clothes', *ttuve* 'dress', *thauna* 'cloth; silk', *dasa-* 'thread', *nyūrra-* 'harness', *pamūha-* 'dress', *paha* 'bag', *pāḍaka-* 'veil', *pāsta-* 'skin-coat', *prrastharmaḍa* 'carpet', *prahoṇe* 'dress', *prahauy-* 'to dress', *pvaica* 'piece of cloth', *phaurthaka-* 'cloth', *baṃgāma-* 'cuirass', *baṭha-* 'cuirass', *bana-* 'bundle', *bara-* 'dress', *baloha-* 'rag', *bīla-* 'dress', *byiha-* 'covering', *maṇḍūla-* 'cloak', *mvakalai* 'glove', *ysärätara-* 'armour', *raha-* 'dress', *rrāna-* 'belt', *vāsta-* 'clothes', *śacī* 'silk', *haḍa-* 'clothes', *hāḍika-* 'garment', *häysä* 'skin', *hurā* 'belt', *parekṣi, parakṣa* 'belt (?)', *bairai* 'dress', *urabada* 'belt', *rīma* 'cloth', *namatā-* 'felt' (widely used, Ossetic *nimät* 'felt cloak'), *haiya* 'silk' glossing Bud. Skt. *pattrorṇā-*.

Foreign words are also found: *attara-vāysa-* 'inner garment', Bud. Skt. *antara-vāsa-, kabala* 'blanket', Bud. Skt. *kambala-, kāṣāya-vastra-* 'monk's robe', *gūñä* 'sack', *cīvara-* 'dress', *thavalaka-* 'bag', with Bud. Skt. *sthavikā, murkhuṭä,* 'crown', Bud. Skt. *mukuṭa-, maula-* 'headdress', Bud. Skt. *makuṭa-, sūthaṃna* 'trousers', Hindī *sūthan, svarṇa-sūttära-* 'brocade'. Chinese *śūkyaina* 'gloves' occurs beside *gūkyaina.* The word *hūḍaiga, hūlyega, hūlaihä*: 'covering' is of uncertain origin. The word *le,* occurring once in *le thau* may be 'linen cloth'. The *thauracaiha-* of the bathing 'robe' may be a dyadic compound from *tap-* 'spin' and *kai-* in *cile* 'garb'. Tibetan

are *thūḍa-pa* 'cloak', Tib. *thul-pa*; *lahä-pī* 'handcloth', Tib. *lag-phyis*; *prramaina* is Tibetan *phra-men* 'silver-gilt', but may be from Iranian; Turkish are *yaragaka* 'pelt', Turkish *yarγaq*; *yaḍama* 'rain-coat', Turkish *yalma*.

The materials are shown by the names *maṃmä* 'bombax, cotton', *kapāysa-* (Bud. Skt. *karpāsa-*), 'cotton', *kāṃha* 'hemp', *kuṃbā* 'flax', *namata* 'felt', *pęma-* 'wool', *būśīnai* 'byssus'. The 'needle' is *suṃjsañu, saujsaña* like Oss. Digoron *sodzinä*, which is found in Kroraina *sujina-kirta* 'embroidery', New Persian *sūzan-kard*.

The copious poetry is thus provided with a large vocabulary of common words and is enriched by almost full access to Buddhist Sanskrit and various Prakrits.

Notes

1. Jade, *īra-*, Chinese 玉 K 1318 *ü* < *ngiwok*, transliterated Khotan Saka *gūka-*, is one of the three precious stones: jade, turquoise and lapis lazuli. For turquoise New Pers. *pairōzah*. Sanskrit loan-word *peroja-* 'of victory'; for lapis lazuli New Pers. *lāžvard*, whence Skt. *rājavarta-*, *rājapaṭṭa-*, see JRAS 1955, 21–23. For Turkish *qaš*, see below. Tibetan has *g-yu* 'turquoise'.

2. KT 2.1.16 *ranījai ttāja baida āvāysa śūstai* 'he built dwellings (Bud. Skt. *āvāsa-*) upon the River of Precious Stone'. The same epithet *ranīja-* is used of the Land, KT 2.102.40 *ranījai janavai* (Bud. Skt. *jana-pada-*). Below Note 16 has the full Chinese title with 寶 K 702 *pau* < *pâu* 'jewel' for the epithet *ranījai*. The Jade River is in Huei-lin 玉河 *ü-xo*.

3. *śailodā*, see S. Lévi, Études asiatiques, 25e anniversaire EFEO II 43, from *śaila-* and *uda-* 'water'.

4. *I-səng, Īrasangä*, see Festschrift Hirth, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift 8, 1920, 300–309, H. Müller, Das Dēvarāja des Wei-ch'ih I-sêng, with a photograph of the picture. The painter is mentioned also in E. H. Shafer, The Golden Peaches of Samarkand, 1963, 32.

5. *Gūkä-mana* 'Jade Gate', Chinese 玉門 K 1318,609 *ü-men* from *ngiwok-muən*, Jap. *gioku-mon*.

6. K 1205.4 聖 *śəng* < *śiäng* 'sacred'.

7. Tibetan Annals of Khotan, edited and translated R. E. Emmerick, Tibetan texts concerning Khotan, London Oriental Series, 19,1967.

8. *Sāmanyāña bisaṃja*, loc. sing. in the Jātaka-stava 2r3. The Bud. Skt. *bhikṣu-sangha-* has given *biž-* and Khot. *bil-*. Sogdian has replaced *bi-* by *bu-* and made *pwrsnk-* **bursang*, whence Uigur *bursang*, and modern Mongol *bursang*. There is of course no **buddha-sangha-*.

9. Document 661 in A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson and E. Senart, Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, i–iii, 1929; translation P. S. Nobel, BSOS 5, 1931, 445 ff., and T. Burrow, A translation of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan, 1940, RAS J. Forlong Fund, vol. XX.

10. *Krorayina, Kroraina*, Chinese K 572.5, 512.5 樓蘭 *lou-lan ləu-lân* (from a foreign *kro-*). The word *kharoṣṭhī, kharoṣṭrī* may be the Prakrit (of the north-west) from an Iranian *xšaθra-pištra-* 'imperial writing' with *-o-* from older *-aui-*, so naming the Aramaic script of the Achaemenian

Persian empire. The Armenian spelling of the name connected *k'saroustra* is from a Greek spelling with *k's-* from Greek *x-*. Prakrit replaced Iranian *xš-* with *kh-*.

11. KT 3.83.18 and KT 4.33.3 *hvaṃ-kṣīra*. For the changes from *hvatana-* to *hvana*, note also the loan-word *ratana-* (Bud. Skt. *ratna-*), *ratäna-*, *raṃna-*, *rana*, *rene*, and *satana-* 'dung', <*sa*>*väna-*, *saṃna-*, *sana-*. Chinese 渙那 K 99.1 (with radical 85), 647.1 *xuan-na* < *xuân-nâ* corresponds to *Hvaṃna* in the time of Hüan-tsang. The *hvataṃ-kṣīra-* is in KT 1. 232, 3v6.

12. For *γazarān* 'Khazars', see V. Minorsky, Ḥudūd al-'ālam 142, folio 32b1.

13. K 1317.1, 114.9 *ü-t'ien* < *jiu-d'ien*, see also E. Pylleyblank, AM, n.s., 9, 1962, 91.

14. KT 3.4,1002 *hvaṃnye phari jsa* 'in Khotan language'; KT 3.121.11 *hvanya kṣīra* 'in the Khotan land'; KT 3.60.44 *hvaṃnī hauna* 'in Khotan language'. For the forms of the name *Hvatana-* see Dict. Khot. Saka.

15. *Cotan* and *Quotan*, see P. Pelliot, Notes of Marco Polo, s.v. *Cotan*.

16. Chinese 大寶于闐國, KT 2.85.12 *ttayi-pū*; KT 2. 86.43 *ttaya-pū*; KT 2.91.105 *yū-ttiṃna*.

17. Tibetan with initial laryngal འ *hu*, in syllabary 23. For *yvu-then*, Staël-Holstein, Tibetan text, line 1, see KT 6.432.

18. The Bud. Skt. forms are: KT 3.121.11 *gaustana-deśa*; KT 3.121.13 *gāṃstana-deśai*, KT 2.53.11 *gāṃsta*; KT 2.53.11 *gaustamä-deśa*. In later Khotan Saka *āṃ-* frequently replaced *-au-*. For *-m-* restored from *-ṃ-* in place of *-n-*, note also KT 2.107.159 *sthaima* for *sthāna*, loc. sing. to *sthāna-* 'place'; and KT 3.75.217 *harthamai* to *harthanu* 'suddenly'.

19. KBT 59, 34r2-3, Dict. Khot. Saka 486 *hīvāmye phara jsa* 'in his own language'.

20. *hotana-* 'strong' to *hotā-* 'force', from *fra-vat-*, not from *fra-aut-* nor *hu-aut-*. Connecting Armenian loan-word *hauat* 'faith'. See Dict. Khot. Saka s.v. *hītala-tsaa-*.

21. For the external history of Khotan, see the earlier brief sketch in KT 4.3 §4.

22. M. Aurel Stein in Ancient Khotan; Serindia, and Innermost Asia. P. Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo, O. Pritsak, Von den Karluk zu den Karakhaniden. W. Samolin, East Turkestan to the twelfth century. R. A. Stein, Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet, and Mi-ñag et Si-hia, BEFEO 44, 1951. P. Demiéville, Le Concile de Lhasa, 1952.

23. Ed. Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-kiue (turcs) occidentaux, 113, note 2, on the Four Garrisons 鎮(K 1194 *ṭṣən* < *t'ịěn*).

24. The word *bajev-*: *bajotta-* renders the Bud. Skt. *pranāśaya-*, *dūṣ-*, *vipralop-* and *vilop-*, all referring to destruction.

25. Fa-hien 399-414 法顯, translations, J. Legge, 1880 (reprint 1965); S. Beal; H. A. Giles, 1923.

26. Tibetan Annals of Khotan, see note 7 above; translation F. W. Thomas, I 134 (folio 443 b) and R. E. Emmerick 73, text 72.

27. Hüan-tsang (629–645)玄奘, called in Tibet *hva-śang* Mahāyānadeva. This *hva-śang* is from Chinese 和尚 K 70,856 *xo-ṣang* from *yuâ-źiang* from the Prakrit of the Buddhist Sanskrit *upādhyāya-* 'teacher'.

28. *Dikabanī* has the title *jasta* 'deva', Tib. *hdeb-ta-ba-ni*, from an uncertain older form.

29. *Lu-ṣï* < *luk-dźiäk*, for an Iranian **Ruγžākā-*, from K 576,805 *lu-ṣï* < *luk-dźiäk*, may be taken with New Pers. *ā-ruγdah* 'desired', see Dict. Khot. Saka s.v. *ārauṣe* 'to please'.

30. *Vaiśravaṇa-*, and *Vaiśramaṇa-*, the *deva*, inherited the rôle of the Hindu god of wealth *Kuvera* dwelling in the city *Alakānandā*. A shortened (probably popular) form, as the Tibetans used *Balo* for *Avalokiteśvara-*, was KBT 99.257 *Vrrīśama* and KT 2.53.9 *Vrrīśä gyasta*. Hobogirin has a long account of this *deva*, s.v. Bishamon. Mongol has *bisman*. KT 5.326.24 *kuvera-*.

31. Huei-ṭṣ'au, 慧超, travelled c. 726 through North-West India and Central Asia, see W. Fuchs, SBAW 1938, edition of a portion of his report found in Tun-huang in 1908; Taishō Issaikyō edition no. 2089.

32. On Marco Polo there is a large bibliography. His family name is *Emilione*, reinterpreted as *il Milione*, see B. Szczesniak, T'oung Pao 48, 1960 Marco Polo's surname 'milione' according to newly discovered archives. L. F. Benedetto, French text, 1928. Latin text edited by A. C. Moule 1938. P. Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo, 3 vols. 1959–1973.

33. A. Rémusat, Histoire de la ville de Khotan, took the encyclopedia Pien-i-tien for material on Khotan. Thence it is summarised by M. Aurel Stein in his Ancient Khotan I 166–184.

34. J. A. Dabbs, History of the discoveries and exploration of Chinese Turkestan, 1963, 117–143.

35. T. A. Joyce, Notes on the physical anthropology of Chinese Turkestan and the Pamirs, 1912, R. Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 42.

36. H. W. Bailey, Languages of the Saka 131–134, in B. Spuler, Handbuch der Orientalistik.

37. Chinese *Sək* for Saka, later *sə* and *sai*, K 773. 塞

38. Sasanian inscriptions; Corpus inscriptionum iranicarum 1954ff. Ph. Gignoux, Glossaire des inscriptions pehlevies et parthes, Corpus insc. iran., supplementary series, vol. 1, 1972. M. Back, Die sassanidischen Staatsinschriften, Acta Iranica 18, 1978. H. Humbach and O. Skjaervø, Supplements to Herzfeld's Paikuli, 1978.

39. KT 4.29.13 *sakāṃ hīvī vāra* 'the portion of Sakāṃ'; KT 5.221,0017.2 *sakāña*. Possibly also KT 3.80.55 *aula sāgī* 'a camel *sāgī*' and KT 2.100.208 *sagīna* may relate to the *Saka* name.

40. *ciṅga- ciṃga-, ciga-, caiga-* 'Chinese' from **činaka-*, beside also *ceṃga-*, adjectives KT 2.49.2 *ciṃgāna phara* 'Chinese language'; KT 3.84.68 *cigāṃ būśānai* 'Chinese perfume'; KT 3.93.250 *cigāṃ būśānai*; KT 5.186,50a2 *ceṃgāñä jsa byaudä* 'received by the Chinese person'. The name came West in the third century B.C. from the dynastic name 秦 K 1082.1 *ts'in* < *dz'ien* the dynasty ruling 255–206 B.C., see P. Pelliot, T'oung Pao 1912, 727ff.; BSOAS 15,1953,537. The Dictionary of Khotan Saka has *ciṃga-* with other linguistic forms. Add to that the Bud. Skt. *cīna-*, in Chinese signs 支那 K 1212.1 *tṣï* < *t'śie*; 647.1 *na* < *nâ*, Jap. *śina*. with nine other Chinese spellings in T. Ōda, Bukkyō daijiten.

41. For *Yar-kand*, Chinese 涉 車 K 847,1187 *so-kü* < *sua-kiwo*.

42. Khotan Saka *rūka-* from **rauka-* with the usual *-ū-* replacing older *-au-*. See the Dict. Khot. Saka s.v. *rūkyāṃ*, and BSOAS 42, 1979, 207–8. From *rau-* 'to command' beside *rau-d-* in *pary-*: *parsta-, parau* 'command' with *-ka-* as in *malysaka-*, professional suffix, or from **raudaka-* where the contact *-dk-* would preserve the *-k-* between vowels. Not to *ragu-* proposed by H. Junker, in F. Altheim, Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter II 1947, 24.

43. The names are in Ahmed Zeki Validi, Memoirs of the archaeological survey of India 53, 123.

44. Max Burchardt, Die alten Fremdwörter und Eigennamen in Aegypten, no. 811.

45. J. Markwart, Caucasica 6, 1930, 56 had also thought of this base *sak-*. E. E. Kuz'mina, V. strane Kavata i Afrosiaba 77, renders *Saki* with *mogučie muži* 'powerful men'. There is no connection with Zor. Pahl. *sak*, New Pers. *sag* 'dog' from **śuaka-*, nor with Oss. *sag* 'stag' with *-ā-*. In Ossetic the initial *s-* has various origins. The adjective form **saka-* is like that in Zor. Pahl. *tak*, New Pers. *tag* 'swift' from *tak-*. Similarly Old Indian has *bhága-* (Avestan *baga-*) and *subhága-*.

46. The temple, that is, the Buddhist monastery of Throana, the place name is in Ptolemaios 6.16.6 Θροάνα. In the ancient Sogdian letter and Bud. Sogdian P. 8.166 the name is written *δrw"n, δrw'n* and *δrw'n-knδyy*. Chinese has K 1143,104 *tun-xuang* < *tuən-ywâng* 敦煌, and 燉 *d'uən*. As an Iranian name *druvāna-* (whence Sogdian *δrw"n*, Greek Θροανα) would clearly mean 'a strong, secure place, a fortress', if derived from *druva-* 'firm, secure', like Zor. Pahl. *dru-pušt* from **druva-pṛšta-* 'firm and protected place, a fortress'. The Chinese *d'uən-yuang* is reached through **dur(u)vān*.

47. The Hellenistic presence in eastern Iran (ancient Persia) was due to Alexander of Macedon. Hence Alexander's career is the basic evidence. Interpretation of this evidence has been pursued intensively. W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in India and Bactria, 1938, is the work of a great expert in the Hellenistic field. On Alexander the literature, scientific and popular, is vast. The Iranian side is put in the Cambridge History of Iran, vol. 2 (now in the Press). From the archaeological side a Greek city has been uncovered on the Oxus now called Ai Khanum. Reports have been published yearly by Paul Bernard. The results of the season 1976–1977 are published in the Comptes-rendus, 1978, 421ff of the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.

A recent discovery of the remains of a Greek theatre at Ai Khanum may show that the Greek theatrical technique was known in India at that time. Fragments of Buddhist dramas have been found in Sanskrit and Prakrits in Central Asia, see H. Lüders, Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen, 1911.

For the name *Tarmita*, preserved in a Tibetan text, see BSOAS 13, 1950, 400–403. Add there the final words of the colophon *slob-dpon dharmitras byas-so* 'composed by the teacher (*ācārya-*) Dharmamitra'. *Tarmata* is on the Roman map, Tabula Peutingeriana.

48. Marco Polo, Le divisament dou monde, edited L. F. Benedetto. See above note 32.

49. Kaśmīra developed the Buddhism received from Eastern India Magadha and became the home of the Sarvāstivāda school, still not yet advanced to the Mahāyāna. The Indian influence in early Tibetan Buddhism is noted by P. Demiéville in his commentary on the documents of the council of Lhasa (Le concile de Lhasa, 1952, 183) in the controversy on dhyāna-. In the mind of the poet of the Book of Ysambasta it is *Kaspära-* which comes to notice when he illustrates the importance of a Khotan Saka version of the Buddhist texts. In Z 23.5 he wrote

ciṅgānu ciṅgau dātä kaspärau tterä khaṣṣa phaṣṣä
kaspärai hāḍe tta sījīndi kvī rru arthu buvāre

that is, 'The Chinese have the Dharma-doctrine in Chinese. In Kaśmīrī, so pleasant, delightful, however, the Kaśmīrans study it, so that they understand the meaning'.

The form *Kaspära-* has *-sp-* from older *-sm-*, a feature known in the later Dardic languages. It is also attested in Tokhara B *leśp*, Uigur medical texts *lisp, lisip* (G. R. Rachmati, Zur Heilkunde der Uiguren II 45, 1932 from Prakrit of Bud. Skt. *śleṣman-* 'phlegm'; and in modern Waxt *lišp* 'mucus'.

E. Pulleyblank (AM, n.s., 9, 1962, 218) has reargued the original of the Chinese *Ki-pin* as for older *Kaspir*, that is, *Kaśmira*, claiming the presence

of *-s-* in *kas*. Khotan Saka *Kaspära-* is like Tibetan *Kaspara*. The *ki-pin* is in K'ang-hi dictionary *kiäi*, K 736 *pin* < *piěn*, for which Pulleyblank has Middle Chinese *kịeĭ-pyin*. Here *-n* is for a foreign *-r*.

In the geographical text of the journey from Khotan to Kaśmīra (Acta Orientalia 14, 1936, and later SDTV 70–72, plates 52–54) the capital city is called *adiṣṭänä* for *adhiṣṭhāna* 'settlement' with a description. The king of Kaśmīra is named Abhimanyugupta who reigned 958–972, so giving an approximate date for the journey. The Persian geography the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* has two spellings *Kašmīr* and *Qašmīr* (see V. Minorsky, 52, and 254; a map is given opposite p. 260). Al-Bairūnī (India 101) calls the capital *addištān*. The Zoroastrian Pahlavī text the greater Bundahišn has the two spellings *kšmyl* and *kyšmyl* **Kašmīr* and **Kišmīr* (TD2 197.2 and 199.1). The King of *Kaspara* is in F. W. Thomas, Tibetan literary texts I 225.

50. The names of Khotan in the T'ang-ṣu are in E. Chavannes, Documents cited above, p. 125.

51. The Khotan words *rrund-* and *raz-* are in the Dictionary of Khotan Saka s.vv.

52. The words *vis* and *puθra-* are compounded with gen. sing. of the first component where *-as* has passed either to *-au* > *-ō* or to *-ai* > *-ē*. So Avestan *vīsō.puθra-* (the *ī* is secondary) and Khotan Saka *-ī-* (from *-ē*) in *bisī-vära-* (as in the monosyllable *svī* 'to-morrow', Old Indian *śvas*). In final nom. sing. the old *-as* passed to Khotan Saka *-ä*, to Sogdian *-y* (pronounced *-i* in the modern loan-word *erdeni* in Mongol). Ossetic has medial *-ē-* and Iron *-ī-* as in *särebarä* 'free', *äxsäveuat* 'night lair', with variant Digoron *dzäbodur*, Iron *dzäbidyr* 'mountain goat', *täreyäd* 1. 'sin', 2. 'pity'. The *-ē-* of **visai* is kept in Armenian loan-word *sepouh*, Georgian *zepur-i* but the initial *vi-*, *i-* is lost.

The same society is shown in Bud. Skt. *kula-putra-* and *kula-duhitar-*. For the Vedic *áditi-*, *ādityá-* as possibly attesting the same social structure, see Mithraic Studies, 1975, 1–20, The second stratum of the Indo-Iranian gods.

53. The word *gvāna-* from *gau-*: *gu-* 'to grow' belongs with a large number of words both nouns and verbs (Dictionary of Khotan Saka 96). KBT 131. 367–8 *gūttairū gvāna* the word is dyadic with Bud. Skt. *gotra-* The *gvāna*, *hugvāna* following a negative corresponds to Bud. Skt. *jātu* 'birth' in the sense of 'reality'. The Iranian words Zor. Pahl. *gōhr* and Sogd. *ywš* **γōš* 'substance' do not decide between *gau-* and *gava-*. Old Indian *gotra-* however may rather support **gauθra-*. For *āzāta-*, see Dict. Khot. Saka s.v.

54. See *biśśä*, *bīśaka-*, *pārysa-* (Dict. Khot. Saka).

55. These titles are the Chinese words:

tsī-ṣī 刺史	1097,885 *ts'ï-ṣï*, *ts'ię-ṣi* provincial administrator
ttuttevä 都頭	1187,1015 *tu-t'ou*, *tuo-d'ə̨u* chief of police or army
śī-kū 聖君	1205,507 *ṣəng-kün*, *śiäng-kiuən* sacred lord
hvū:śiṃna 夫人	41,930 *fu-ʐən*, *pịu-nźịěn* consort, lady
thaya-ttīki 大德	952,981 *t'ai-tə*, *t'âi-tək* reverend, bhadanta
tcai-syāṃ 宰相	1023, 786 *tsai-siang*, *tsâi-sịang* chief minister
śai-tcūnä 世尊	886,1112 *ṣï-tsun*, *śiäu-tsuən* sacred lord
cāṃ-ṣṣī 長史	1174,885 *ṭṣ'ang-ṣï*, *ṭ'iang-ṣi* secretary
ttai-ṣṣī 大師	952,893 *t'ai-ṣï*, *t'âi-ṣi* great teacher
tcer-thū-śī 節度使	1148,1128,526 *tsie-tu-ṣï*, *tsiet-d'uo-ṣi* governor
pgki-sina 百姓	686,874 *po-sing*, *pɒk-siäng* common folk
kū-thaiga-ṣī 功德使	469,981, 526 *kung-tə-ṣï*, *kung-tək-ṣi* regulator of monks
tte-pū 太保	Gram. ser. rec. 317d,K697 *t'ai-pau*, *t'âi-pâu* great protector
ttāttāha 都督	487,908 *tu-tu-*, *tuo-tuok* governor
ḍe-kuṃ 令公	558,475 *ling-kung*, *lịang-kung* military governor
phanä-kvgnä 判官	689,447 *p'an-kuan*, *p'uân-kuân* accountant
si-khuṃ 司空	810,476 *sï-k'ung* . *si-k'ung* minister of works
tteyi hyāṃ 大王	952,1298 *t'ai-uang*, *t'âi-jịwang* great ruler
pūhyä 僕射	760, 865 *pu-i (-ie)*, *pu-ịäk* vice president

56. The metals and minerals are listed with connected words in the volume dedicated to P. Aalto, Studia orientalia 47, 1977, 19–23, and separately in the Dictionary of Khotan Saka.

Postscript *sūlī*

N 169.10 *sūlīya* is used of the 'merchants' rescued from the *rākṣasī*-demoness, parallel to Jātaka-stava *sāṭīka-*, *sāṭhīka-* (from Old Indian *sārtha-* 'caravan'). For *sūlī*, plural *sūlya*, *sūlīya* 'merchant' is to be preferred to the connexion with Chinese *ṣu-li* (KT 4.59). In KT 2.46.78 *sūlya* follows two ethnic names and would best be taken as a form of the name 'Sogdian' (like Zor. Pahlavī *sūlīk*). The word *sūlīya-* 'merchant' could be connected with New Pers. *saudā* 'trade' and *saudā-gar* 'merchant' (base *sau-* 'to profit', as in Zor. Pahl. *sūt*, New Pers. *sūd*). Since however the Sogdians were primarily merchants the ethnic name Sogdian (whence *sūlīya-*) may have taken on the meaning 'merchant' as the Christian Sogdian *frōmčīq* 'Roman' was used for 'soldier'.

Chapter 2

The Habitations, Surroundings, and Social Life in Khotan

In the city of Ribchester in Lancashire, England, there lies in the Museum a stone of the Roman Castra, which lay for many years in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, where I saw it. It has been described and interpreted by Ian Richmond, late Professor of British Archaeology at Oxford.[1]

This stone incription was set up by *Sarmatae* veterans who had been sent to the Provincia of Britannia after their defeat by the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius (161–180) called *Sarmaticus* as one who had defeated the *Sarmatae* and incorporated defeated *Sarmatae* soldiers *cataphractarii* into his Roman army. So later, as stated by Dio Cassius, 5,500 *ueterani* came to Britannia and (presumably) were partly absorbed among the indigenes.

The inscription (filled out) reads *numerus equitum Sarmatarum Bremetannacensium Gordianus* and was dedicated to *Apollo Maponus*, the Greek god and the Celtic name 'youth'.

This was the farthest North-West of Europe that the *Sarmatae* reached, but they have left more evidence of their presence in France. The road through Rheims was the *Via Sarmatarum*.

In these *Sarmatae*, we know the later tribesmen whom the Avesta called *Sairima* and who in the later Zoroastrian tradition were remembered as *Sarm* or *Salm*, whence the hero *Salm* of Persian epic. Even now the name of a fort in Kirmān towards Sagastān, the ancient Pharca, is known by the name *Diz i Salm*.

The *Sarmatae*, Greek *Sarmatai*, are linked by the use of the plural suffix *-tā-* to the Avestan language which has *kəvītāt-* 'the group of *kavi-* (sage and prince)', and to Sogdian with the plural *-th*, oblique *-ty*, Yazgulāmī *-aθ* and Ossetic *-tä*, but not directly linked with Khotan Saka which preserved for the plural the old Iranian inflexion varying according to the nominal stem; thus *-a* to the singular *-ä* of an *-a-* stem; plural *-ā*, singular *-ai* to an *-aka-*

stem; and *naḍaunä* 'heroes' to the singular *naḍe* of a stem in *-aun-*. But the overall name *Saka* is here in these lectures used of all these North Iranian-speaking, originally nomadic, tribes.

Something has been shown of the life of the Khotan Saka kingdom in its knowledge of utensils, metals, and minerals, tools and textiles. This picture of life in the *Hvataṃ, Hvaṃ kṣīra,* Khotan, 1500 years ago can be deepened much more fully. There is information on cities and villages, on buildings, on their calendar. Plant names are copious, particularly since these scholars translated medical texts from India. In these translations they used as far as possible their native words for known flora, but were forced also to take over the names of plants unfamiliar in the Tarim region, names of hot regions of India, in their Buddhist Sanskrit or Prakrit forms. Animals and birds, both wild and tame, are at constant appearance. In cultural subjects, books, painting, religion and music are well illustrated.

Names of the ruling family *Viśg* and of the normal citizen, high, middle and low, show non-Iranian, Indianised forms and foreign Buddhist choice of name for the religious teacher, the monk, the *ārya-* of the tradition which the local language developed to *āṣī*; for the nun, the *bhikṣuṇī* the word *āṣīkā-* from *āryikā-*.

This *āṣī,* plural *āṣa,* is from Prakrit **ārźya-* from older *āryya-,* usually spelt simply *ārya-*. A further stage with *-rdz-* and *-rǰya-* is attested in the 10th century Sanskrit-Tibetan formulary (edited by J. Hackin 1924, 118).[2] Here there are *'ar-yya-, 'a-rdza* and *'a-rǰya* for *ārya-*.

The contrast in Buddhist Sanskrit of *ārya- . . . śrāddha-* 'the noble' monk and 'the believing' layman is repeated in Tokhara of Agni (252b7–8) by *ārśi . . . śrāddhe* in a verse of the Udānavarga 10.10 (cited as long as 30 years ago in TPS 1947, 144).[3] This is the ennobled *bhikṣu* 'mendicant', the Tibetan *hphags-pa,* and the layman with *śraddhā-*. The Tokhara B texts of Kuci have *ārśe,* and *arśe*. One unpublished fragment of a doctrinal text has Kuci *ārśe* doubtless for *ārya-* but the Buddhist Sanskrit passage so rendered is not yet identified. Uigur Turkish has *arya-* in the phrase *qamïl-lïγ arya ačari* 'the noble teacher of Qamïl',[4] but also *arǰa,* quoted by Hackin (p. 102) from P. Pelliot.

Law is represented with its penalties and technical names of law-breakers.

Here first then must be displayed the categories of things attested in the Khotan Saka vocabulary.

First as to Habitations. The city is called *kanthā-*, a word widely found in the Iranian area to the present day as in the *kand* and *kent* of *Yar-kand* and *Taš-kent,* and in use in Ossetic of last century as *känt* for 'building'. It is basically Iranian. From the time of Alexander of Macedon it has been

familiar in the city name of *Marakanda,* the later *Samar-kand,* in Zor.Pahl. *swmlknd,* Arab and Persian *samar-qand* (replaced in Turkish by *samïz-qand*). The word *kanthā-* became known to the Indian grammarian Pāṇini of Śalātura in the fourth or third century B.C. in North-West India. A little later Patanjali was offering his etymology of the name *śaka-* (the Indianised form of the name *Saka* with palatalised *ś-*) using the depleted Indo-Aryan vocabulary. He proposed to explain the name of the *Saka* kings from the Indian word *śāka-* 'vegetable': the *Saka* kings were fond of vegetables. It ignored the difference of vowels (*a* and *ā*), just as a recent etymology has compared *saka-* with the word **sāka-* preserved in Ossetic *sāg* 'deer (the animal)'.

In the second century B.C. the far eastern nomads were breaking into Bactria to extinguish the lingering Greek kingdom initiated by Alexander's generals. The word *kanθā-* is found in Sogdian *knδh *kanθā-,* later *kaθ* and *kand.* Balōčī has kept *kant* as a word for a village; New Persian *kand* 'village'; Pašto *kandai* 'part of a town'. In origin *kanθā-* contains the base *kan-* 'to cover' of roofed buildings and thence to an aggregate to form a town. In the region of the Tarim Basin *Yar-kand* has replaced the older name *Saka* recorded in Chinese and Greek. The old name *Čāč* has been changed to *Taš-kent* as if with Turkish *taš* 'stone'. Chinese wrote 建K 373 *kien* from *kiɒn.*

In Khotan Saka smaller settlements are called *parmihā-,* glossing Buddhist Sanskrit *nigama-* 'village', from **pari-miθa-* with the base *maiθ-* 'to settle, dwell', extensively extant in Iranian place names, Sogdian *mēθan, miθ, mit.* Buddhist Sanskrit *tarmita-,* on the Roman map the Tabula Peutingeriana *tarmata,* modern *Tirmiδ, Termez* is the city at the Oxus crossing (*tar-* is 'to cross').[5] In Chinese spelling *mit* is familiar in the name of the capital city of Kabul in the older name *tu-mi* from *tuo-miet* meaning 'the great settlement'. Similarly Mongol capital Pekin was 大都 *ta-tu* 'Great city'.

The Khotan Saka *āguv-* 'village', glossing Buddhist Sanskrit *grāma-* 'village' is connected with Avestan *gava-* 'district', Ossetic Digoron *γäu,* Iron *qäu* 'village' as in *Dzäuägi γäu* the older name of Ordjonikidze. The *ā-* of *ā-guv-* expresses some superiority, like the Khotan Saka *ārūva-* 'refuge' and *āmūna-* 'dwelling'. The whole country is called *kṣīra-,* Tumšuq Saka *xšera-* (keeping *-e-* from *-ai-*), Avestan *šōiθra-* (**šaiθra-*) cognate with Old Indian *kṣetra-* 'field'.

Of buildings there is the *kūṣḍa-* 'mansion'; the *rrundä kūṣḍa-* 'king's mansion, palace' renders Buddhist Sanskrit *rājadhānī* and *rājakula-* 'royal court'. The word *kūṣḍa-* is from *kaužda-* attested in Avestan *kaožda-*. Later

with the suffix *-ka-*, the word *kaužd(a)ka-* became *kōšk* as in Zor. Pahl. *kōšk*, Georgian loan-word *k'ošk'-i*, Aramaic *qwšq-*, New Persian *kōšk*, *kušk* 'castle', whence by way of Istanbul came west European *kiosk*. A similar meaning is expressed with the prefix *pa-* in the dyadic *rājadānä pakuṣḍi*, where the *pa-* indicates attachment.

The house is *bisā-* formed from the older *vis-* 'settlement' by suffix *-ā*. The simplex *vis-* survived only in the genitive singular *bäsī-väraa-* 'son of the House' from **visas-puθra-*, Avestan *vīsō.puθra-*. This was detailed in the first lecture for *bisīvraa-* and Ossetic *guppur*. For dwellings other words were *māśa-* 'house' parallel to *bisā-*, connected with Ossetic *mäsug* 'castle'; *gvaha-* from **vi-vaha-*; *pvāha-* from **pa(ti)-vāha-*; *mūja-*, *āmūna-*, *āmuha-* from *mān-* 'to stay'; *sarangā-* 'hall' in the plural *saragyai*; *śārṣṭaa-* 'hall of meditation' like Buddhist Sanskrit *prahāṇa-śālā-*; *bārmana-* 'enclosure' (for 'prison' and 'reservoir' for water). A list of dwellings occurs: *bīsa prūva ysīmā ttala gaṇḍye śalaba* 'house, fort, covered place, hall, shrine, temple hall'. The perfumed chamber is *bū-spāṃja*, Bud. Skt. *gandhakuṭi*, and the cell *gava-*, which is either Iranian or Indian *garba-* or *garbha-*. The *ysīmā* is from the base *zar-*, which in its Indian form *har-* gave the words *harmya-*, and *harmikā-*. The *prūva-* 'fort' is found in the earlier form in Krorain *pirova-* and derives from *pa(ti)-raupa-*, with Sogdian *ptr'wp-* 'castle'. A word of general meaning is *ḡmatā-* 'habitation' from **āhāmatā-*; and also *auskā-* 'abode'. An apparently archaic word is *pira-* house' from *par-* 'to build', elsewhere in the Zor. Pahl. *hm'pyl *hamāpēr*. Turfan Parthian *hm'byr* 'dwelling'; and in ancient Hittite *pir*, gen. sing. *parnaš* 'house'. From this *pira-* came the official title *pira-vīraa-* 'domestic official'. The base *aiš-* 'to build' is in *hīha-* 'house' and in *pīha-* (**pa-aiša-*) 'house', rendering Tibetan *khyim*, used like Waxī *kat*. Foreign words from India are *āvāysa-* 'monastic building', Bud. Skt. *āvāsa-*; *kulāra-*, later *kūlāra-* 'pinnacled building', Bud. Skt. *kūṭāgāra-*; *mālihāra-* 'pavilion', Bud. Skt. *mālā-vihāra-*; *ttina-śālā-* 'grass hut' of the ascetic, Bud. Skt. *tṛṇa-śālā-*.

In the city there were *eväte* 'streets', and *aye vī* 'in the street'; *yamatha-* 'wide space' in the compound *haṣṭi-yamathai* of the city (*katha*) of the Gods Thirty-three.

An ideal city is fully described in the story of *Ketumatī* of Maitreya. The Sanskrit *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa-* and its Tibetan translation are known.[6] The description, though of an ideal Indian city, yet naturally uses all the local technical terms.

Then there is the Khotan Saka view of the world of Nature. This Saka view could be expounded in indigenous language. For nature in the abstract they had *pratarā-*, later *prrarā-* which may be either a Khotan Saka word

from *parā-karā-* 'active producer' or possibly rather a form from Prakrit for older *prakṛti-*. They had also *prraśvava-* (in other forms *praśvena*, *prraśve jsa* and *paśve jsa*) which can be traced to *parā-śuta-*, modified from *sau-* 'to swell' or from *šau-* 'to force forward'. The sun in the sky is called *urmaysdān-* nom. sing. *urmaysde* (*-e* from *-āns*) retained from the Zoroastrian (or possibly earlier) divine name *Ahura mazdā*, but with suffix *-ān-* indicating dependency. The word Iškāšmī *rēmuz*, Sanglēčī *ōrmōzd*, Chorasmian *rēmažd* (in Arabic script) is also for 'sun' and from the same *Ahura mazdā*. The 'moon' is *māstā* which is also 'month'. But the usual word for 'moon' is the epithet *purrā-* 'full'. To the old Indo-Iranian *māṣ-* the suffix *-ti-* was added before the medial *-ṣ-* had passed to *-h-* in Iranian. A similar form is in Pašto *myāst*, *myāšt*, plural *myēštē* 'month', Sarīkolī *māst* (with *-ā-* from *-a-*). For 'sunshine' the word *paṣ́ārā-* was used from *pati-źarā-* of the base *zar-* 'to shine', as in Lithuanian *žarà* 'redness', *žeriù*, *žerė́ti* 'shine'.

The 'sky' was *ora-* from *abra-*, like Ossetic *ārv*, but it was rare and soon replaced by the Buddhist Sanskrit *ākāśa-*, often reduced to *āṣ́a-*. This same *abra-* however was kept with the prefix *pari-* in *pryaura-*, *päyore*, *pyaura-* **pari-abrā-* 'cloud' with Sogdian *pr'yβ'k*. The 'stars' are *stāraa-* with adjective *styerrīnaa-*, thus the same as in other Iranian dialects. To express rain the base was *var-* used in *bāra-* 'rain', verbal *bār-* 'to rain', and *berān-* 'to make to rain', as in the Buddhist tales the *deva-*gods send down a rain of *mandārava-* blossoms. The usual Iranian word for rain was *var-*. In Balōčī two forms occur *gwaray* and *gwāray*. Once only in the Avesta the enlarged *var-š-* is found in *aiwi.varšta-*, whereas the Old Indian has *varṣ-* throughout. Heat and cold are expressed with the normal Iranian *gar-* and *sar-*, here in *garma-* (in a compound), elsewhere *grāma-*; and *sāḍa-* 'cold'.

For 'planet' and 'lunar mansions' only the Buddhist Sanskrit words *graha-* and *nakṣatra-* are used: *graha-* is the 'seizer'. Sometimes the name of the *nakṣatra-* is found, thus *pulśä*, *pväśa nakṣattra*, for *puṣya-*; *ādrä nakṣatträ* for *ārdrā*; *purva-bhadrriva naḳṣattri* for *pūrva-bhādrapadā*; and *nakṣattra śattavaiṣg* for *śatabhiṣa-*.

The evil caused by the *graha-*demons is accepted in the term of the medical text *grrahaja ächā* 'diseases caused by demons' and in the epic *grahastä sattä* 'mad person'. In the description of the *graha-*demons causing illnesses in children their names are cited and pictures drawn in a Stein manuscript 117. The names are well known in Chinese script.

The calendar[7] with local month names is known in its entirety because the Buddhist Sanskrit medical texts treated the topic at the beginning of a medical treatise. It is accordingly found in the Siddhasāra of Ravigupta where the month names are translating the Indian month names. The year

was divided into six seasons (*rutā-*, plural *rrve*). Thus the months are so allotted, summer, *haṃdyaja-, śrāvaṇa-, rarūya, bhādrapada-*; autumn, *ttuṃjāra-, āśvina-, braṃkhaysdya-, kārtika-*; winter, *mudrracaja, muṭçaci, mārgaśīrṣa-, muñaṃja, pauṣa-*; end of winter, *skarihvāra-, māgha-, rrāhaja, phālguna-*; spring, *cvātaji, caitra-*; *kaja, vaiśākha-*; end of spring, *hamārrīṃji, jyeṣṭha-, siṃjsīṃji, āṣāḍha-*. All occur in documents. The seasons are named, summer *hamāña-*, Avestan *hąmina-*, Zor. Pahl. *hāmēn* (but Pašto *manai* autumn); autumn, *paṣa*, adjective *paśājsya-*, Zor. Pahl. *pātēz*, Ossetic *fäzzäg*; winter, *ysumi, ysämāna-, ysumāna-*, Zor. Pahl. *zamastān*, Kumzārī *dimistān*; spring, *pasāla-*, New Persian *absālān*, from *pa-sarda-* 'towards summer'.

The ancient word *sard-* 'year' became Khotan Saka *salä, salī*, Avestan *sarəd-*, Old Persian *θar(a)d*, Zor. Pahl. *sāl*. The Buddhist Sanskrit religious term for the rains retreat is in Khotan Saka *vaṛṣā-vāysä, vaṣḡ-vāysa-* with adjective *vaṣḡ-vāysaujsī* from *varṣa-vāsa-*. There is one occurrence of *dīrgha-varṣa-* in the passage *tti vā śvą haṃdyaji māśti ṣṭāna audi śvą brraṃkhaysji māśtä buri dīrgha-vārṣi samai drai māśti* 'these from mid-month *haṃdyaja-* (*śrāvaṇa-*) to mid-month *brraṃkhaysja-* are three months, the time of the Long Year'.

The origin of the month names remains conjectural. If an agricultural basis is assumed taking *ttuṃjāra-* the first autumn month to mean 'picking, plucking' fruit from a base *(s)tau-* 'to pluck' like Ossetic *tonun*, the other names could be fitted to this scheme. Thus summer *haṃdyaja-* 'heat' from *ham-dai-* 'to burn up', *rarūya-* 'extreme heat' from a *ra-* reduplication to the base *rau-* 'to burn', as in Ossetic *ārāun, ārud* 'to burn' (possibly in Khotan Saka *rauḍa-* 'fevered'), Atharva-veda- *rūrá-* 'hot'; autumn, *braṃkhaysja-* from *fram-* 'to blaze' in Zor. Pahl. *fram-kar*, epithet of fire; winter, *mudrracaja-* from *mau-* 'be moist' like Old Indian *mudira-* 'cloud'; *muñaṃja-* 'hard weather', from *mau-* 'to beat' in Ossetic *mos* 'threshing-floor' and *mū-* of Khotan Saka *rraha-mū-*; winter *skarihvāra-* 'rough (frosted) ground' with *skarba-* 'rough, hard'; *rrāhaja-* 'ease from frost' with *rap-* 'support, please'; spring *cvātaja-* 'trench time' from *kau-* 'to dig'; *kaja-* 'planting time' from *sg-, sk-* to Latin *seget-*, nom. sing. *seges* 'seed'. But all this is still highly uncertain.

Three Tumšuq Saka month names are known *ahverjane, buzaḍine*, and *tsviẓānañye*. The first *ahverjane* resembles Sogdian *xwržn*.

The Twelve-year Animal Cycle is used in Khotan Saka with local names for the animals except *nāga-* and *markaṭa-* 'dragon' and 'monkey'. The full list is in Khotan Saka, and Krorain, Sogdian, Kuci Tokhara and Central Asian Sanskrit.[8] They were published as long ago as BSOS 8, 1937, 923–930.

The divisions of time are *salä* 'year', *māstä* 'month', *hala-māstā* 'half-month, like Indian *pakṣa-*, *haḍai* 'day' from *har-* 'to depart', *brū haḍā* 'early in the day', *śva haḍā* 'mid-day', *karavātä* 'in the morning', *ysai, ysaina, ysai ysai* 'early', *palśärä, paṣāra-, pgṣā* 'evening', adjective *pgṣaraṃjsī*; *ṣavā-* 'night', *ṣṣavamāra-* 'part of the night', *śśuvo ṣṣavo* 'mid-night', *imū* today, adjective *īmūjsī, mu-ṣṣuve* 'tonight'. The first day of the month is *beraja-, byeraja-* corresponding to Buddhist Sanskrit *prati-pad-*, connected with *ayar-* 'day', Avestan *uzayara-*, Ossetic *izär* 'evening', Sanglēčī *vužēr* 'early evening', Yidγa *uzīro* 'yesterday'. The time itself is *bāḍa-* from **varta-* 'rolling', *skyätä, skyetä, stye, sce* 'time' from *sak-* 'to pass', *parsāme* 'passing of time', *kalpuvǫ parrävǫ* 'in past ages (*kalpa-*)'.

The landscape has a large vocabulary. There are the terms: *gari-* (gen. plural *ggarāṇu, ggariṇu*), adjective *garaja-* 'mountain', Yazgulāmī *γərčug*, plural *γərčəgaθ* 'mountain', Avestan *gairi-*; *hvętä, kęca-*, 'cleft', *haṃdramä* 'forest', *kuṣḍa-* 'glade', *ttāja-* 'river', *nätāγa-, ñā* 'river', *tcāta-, tcātaka-, tcāvaka-, tcā* 'pond, pool', *miṣṣa-* 'field', *ttu-mäṣa-* 'great field', glossing Buddhist Sanskrit *su-kṣetra-, rrai* 'plain', *briṃjā-* 'dry place', Buddhist Sanskrit *ujjangala-*; *ggaṃpha-* 'expanse', *dara-* 'ravine', *gyahā-, jahā-* 'fountain'. There is a list of different kinds of water in the Siddhasāra: *gachā ūtca* 'well water', Bud. Skt. *kaupya-* 'water of a *kūpa-*, well', *gīmā ūtca* 'fountain water', Bud. Skt. *audbhida-*; *guryā ūtca* 'reservoir water', Bud. Skt. *cauḍya-*. From *āṣṣiṃgyā-* 'pool', rendering Bud. Skt. *saras-*, came the adjective *āṣeṃjā utca* 'pool water', Bud. Skt. *sārasa-*. Further *khāhā-* 'spring, lake' Sogdian *γ'γ *xāx*, Yazgulāmī *xēx*. There are also the foreign words *ārñāna-* 'wilderness', from Bud. Skt. *āraṇyāyatana-*; *alava* 'forest', Bud. Skt. *aṭavī-, viysāṃgyā-* 'lotus-pond', Bud. Skt. *puṣkariṇī*, from *viysa-* 'lotus'. The 'enclosed garden' is *paljsäta-, käljsa-* and (Bud. Skt.) *udyāna-* in the form *uryāna-*.

The flora named in these Khotan Saka texts is very extensive. Many are the local words for plants known to the Sakas and surviving from ancient Iranian. But many are Indian plants recorded because in translating the Bud. Skt. medical texts the prescriptions contained numerous names of plants employed by the medical writers. These plants were clearly at times unknown to the people of the Tarim Basin. The same difficulty can be seen in the Kuci Tokhara translations of medical treatises.

For the world of the Sakas of Khotan it is the list of indigenous names which are particularly interesting with mostly precise names.

First for the parts of plants there are the terms *karāśśa-* 'creeper' (but Tokhara Agni *kārāś*, Kuci *karāś* 'forest'), *kīra-, kirä* 'bush', *kīḍā* 'creeper', *sa-kala-* 'hundred-stemmed' for Bud. Skt. *śata-puṣpa-*, Ossetic *k'ālā, k'āluā, k'uālā, k'āleu* 'branch', the *kərəna-* of Avestan *gao-kərana-* 'red-stemmed'

for the apocalyptic *haoma-* plant, all words connected with the base *kel-* of parts of plants as in Greek κλάδος 'branch'; *cakala-, cikala-* 'building withies', *chala, chei* 'bud', *gīsai* 'rope', *ttarra-* 'herb' (from *tṛna-*), *ttīman-* 'seed', *bāggara-* 'leaf' from **varkara-*, Sogdian and Turfan Parthian *wrkr*, Avestan *varəka-* (beside *varəsa-* 'hair'), Zor. Pahl. *vark, valg*, New Persian *barg* to base Indo-European *ɣel-*, beside Avestan *varəša-* 'stem (?)', Yazgulāmī *warx̌* 'a plant which blinds cattle' and Šuγnī *warx̌* 'a hill grass'; *buśānaa-, buśa* 'perfume', *mījsāka-* 'kernel', *ṣara-* 'nut', *ṣaṃbīra-* 'pod', *spätaa-, spyaka-, spye* 'blossom' from *sprag-* 'to burst out', *hīyāra-* 'fruit', *gūrva* 'ground grains', *kujso* 'bud'.

Here then there is a long list of indigenous plant names. Thus *aṃguṣḍa-* 'asa fetida', *apaucalīkä* '*sugandhaka-*', *aśe* 'bulrush (*kaśeruka-*)', *auṣai* 'cumin' (*jīraka-*), 'pungent' from **āušaka-, ahauḍa-* 'gourd' (*alabu-*), *ārra-* 'rush' (*vacā-*), *īrū* 'oleander' (*karavīra-*), *īrmāṃ, īrhvā* 'citron' (*mātulunga-*), *ǧysaṃ, eysä* (for *eysaṃ*) 'millet' (*nīvāra-*), New Persian *arzan, alum, eśta bāta, auśta* 'hog-weed (*punarnava-*)', *kaṃha-* 'hemp', *kuṃjsata-* 'sesame', *kuṃbā* 'flax' (*atasī-*)', Sogdian *kynp'*, Kančakī *känbä*, Chorasmian *knbynk* 'linen', *kurkuma-* 'saffron (*kunkuma-*)', adjective *kurkumīnaa-, kulīrai* 'ocimum (*arjaka-*)', *krrasanīcä* 'momordica' (*karkoṭa-*), *khaṇauśä gaysä* 'a kind of reed', *khara-* 'acacia' (from Bud. Skt. *khadira-*), *khiṃna-* 'thorn', *khoje* 'trapa (*śṛngāṭa-*)', *ganama-* 'wheat', *gaysa-* 'reed (*naḍa-*)', Ossetic Digoron *qäzä*, Iron *qäz, gichana-, gechana-*, 'plaintain', *gīrāna ṣvīdā hemakṣīrī, gūra-* 'grapes', adjective *gūräṇai mau* 'grape wine', *ggusa-* 'millet', New Persian *gāvarsa- cakūrīka-, cukūrīka-* 'oxalis' (*cāngerī-*), *cāṃṇakavi* 'cinnamon bark', *ciṃgāṃ ttīrai* 'azadirachta indica (*nimba-*)', *cūvaṃ* 'turmeric', *jsāra-* 'corn', *ñāna spyakä* 'andropogon (*śaṃkhinī*), *ttaṃbīrä* 'coriander (*tumbirūṇi*)', *ttāguttāṃ būśāni* 'perfume of the Tibetans', that is 'nard', *ttrirṣṭya* 'oldenlandia (*parpaṭa-, tikta-*)', *ttuṃgare* 'ginger', Kuci Tokhara *tvāṅkarai*, Tibetan *li doṅ-gra, tcādare* 'symplocus' (*cillī*), *tcāve bāte* 'potherbs', *trahe, trihe, trehe* 'radish' from root *strap-* 'be bright', *tharka* 'walnut', *drāṃgulye* 'a thorny plant (*go-kṣura-*)', *drāma-* 'pomegranate (*dālima-*)', *nīysva* 'lentil (*masūra-*)', *nīro* 'cassia (*kāśamardika-*)', *nīlai* 'indigo', *palaigä* 'Boswellia thurifera', *puño* 'clerodendrum (*phānjī*)', *puṣṭara-* 'juniper (*padmaka-*)', *pūhara-* 'vegetable', *pau* 'onion', Sogdian *py'kh*, New Persian *piyāz, banāte, banāve* 'plum' from the colour *van-* 'blue', *bī* 'willow', Avestan *vaēiti-*, Zor. Pahl. *vēt*, New Persian *bīd, biṃmīysā* 'millet' (*śyāmaka-*), *buvāṃ ttīrai* 'sour plant of the Bod, *kośa*', *buhane* 'scented grass (*mustaka-*)', *byāra-* 'gourd (*ervāruka-*), Kuci Sanskrit *guyara-* Zor. Pahl. *giyār, xiyār*, New Persian *xiyār* 'cucumber', *bruṃja-* 'birch', Ossetic Digoron *bärzä, maṃgiṇḍä* 'pumpkin (*kuṣmāṇḍa-*)', *maṃmä* 'bombax,

cotton', *hiṃja mījidä* 'amaranth (*taṇḍulīyaka-*)', *murau* 'ocimum (*māluka-*)', *yausa* 'musk perfume', *ysaṃbasta-* 'garlic (*laśuna-*)', *ysaraṃjsa-* 'safflower', *ysāysa-* 'grass (*tṛṇa-*)', Turfan Persian *z'z* 'weed', Ossetic *zaz* 'palm; yew', *ysālva* 'barberry', New Persian *zarīǰ, ysīḍā spye* 'yellow blossom', *ysba* 'reed', *rrīysū* 'rice', Pašto. *wrižē*, Yaγnābī *riǰan, rrūnai* 'madder', Balōčī *rōdan, rrusā-* 'barley' (*yava-*), Chorasmian *rsy, rustara-* 'calotropis (*arka-*)', *laṃgara bā* 'vanda Roxburghii (*rāsnā-*)', *lātrūysāṃ* 'holarrhena (*kalinga-*)', *valaiga-* 'citron (*mātulunga-*)', *viṇakä* 'pea', Zor. Pahl. *vēnōk* (*caṇaka-*), *śśakarä* 'sugar' from the Prakrit to Buddhist Sanskrit *śarkarā-*, Zor. Pahl. *šakar, šaṃdyāñä* 'andropogon (*bhūs-tṛṇa-*)', *śśaśvānä, šaśvāṃ* 'mustard (*sarṣapa-*)', *śāñe* 'solanum nigrum (*kācamacī*)', *śī ḃu* 'white perfume', *śīmje, śīja* 'jujube (*badara-*)', Zor. Pahl. *sinǰat*, New Persian *sinǰad, śvāña gūra* 'a kind of grapes (*kāśmaryaḥ*)', *ṣvīdā bāva* 'milky root' (*payasyā-*), *sapala* 'green stuff (?)', with Rōšānī *sēpc* (*c* = *ts*) 'cultivated field', *sacha bāva* 'uraria (*jhaṣā-*)', *sānā* 'ajowan (*yavānī*)', *sārme* 'basella', *sunāha-* 'semecarpus', *sautharä spyakä* 'grislea (*dhātakī*)', *skārä* 'bean' (*māṣa-*)', *haṃga* 'citron (*rāja-pūraka-*)', *hacana bāta* 'a grass root (*kāsavṛkṣadanī*)', *haskye* '*gṛdhrā-*', *haspye* 'asterakantha, nux vomica', *ḫābä* 'bdellium, a balsam', *hāmai* 'barley flour', *hinā-* 'negundo (*surasā-*)', *hīysamāṃ* 'coriander (*dhānyaka-*)', *huraṣṭa-* 'orris (*puṣkara-*)', *haiśā ttīma, hauśū* 'albizza lebec (*śirīṣa-*)', *hvāṣa-, hvāta-* 'herb' *māsta hvāṣe* 'vegetable' *śāka*)'.

To illustrate the original world of the Sakas of Khotan the many plant names from Indian are not here of service.

Medicaments are made from all the indigenous and foreign plants. But the physicians prescribed also other kinds of medicine. Thus there occur *ñe, ttīrai ñe* 'curds', *ñävutcana* 'water of curds', *tcāra-* 'fat', *tcārba-* 'fat', *päyä, pī* 'fat', *tciṃña* 'yeast' from *kin-* as in Bud. Skt. *kiṇva-*, Ossetic *k'insä* 'dough', *ūlīñe āste* 'camel's bone', *hva-khāṃdalaja āstai* 'bone of boar's tusk' (*āruka-*), *gūhä hīvī daṃdai* 'ox tooth', *gvīhä ysaiysä* 'ox gall', *kava hīvī gū* 'dung of fish', *mḡta vattala* 'dung of bee', *aṣṇuha-* 'dung of dove', *biṃjūha-* 'dung of sparrow', *ṣvīda-* 'milk', *hvī* 'human' and *buysīñä* 'of goat', *rrīysutca* 'rice water', *rrīysvanai ṣapā* 'rice porridge', *hvaśā* 'mash of sheep' *pasīna-*, and *būysīña* 'of goat'. Further *sutta-* 'vinegar', *mauya suttä* 'vinegar from beer' *mau hīya purga* 'lees of liquor', Ossetic *p'ārā* 'lees', *skaṃphai* 'lac', *mīrāhe* 'pearls', *svaṃdūṃ* 'sulphur', *namva* 'salts', *hīhä daumä, pīhä daumä* 'soot', *ysirai* 'yellow arsenic', *ysīrā* 'red arsenic'.

All these medicaments of plant, mineral and animal products are prescribed by the Khotan Saka physician delighted with the scientific Indian medicine. The indigenous preface to the medical text of the Siddhasāra of

Ravigupta states that the translation was required by the *Tcai-syāṃ*, the Prime Minister of the time. Many wrong medicines had been used and many patients had died. This new Indian knowledge, it is implied, would give safe instruction.

The fauna of the Khotan Kingdom, the breathing things named either by the local word *uysnaura-* or the Bud. Skt. word *prāṇaa-*, is rich in both animals and birds. The animals again have local names both wild and tame. Here, too, many animals and birds furnish medicaments. The flesh of these beasts was classified as to heavy and light digestion.

In reference to the fauna there is a vocabulary of their various parts. These are given in local Iranian words. Thus there are: *āha-* 'egg', *iṃjīnaa-* 'leathern', *īse* 'whorls of hair', *kangā-* 'skin', *daṃdaa-* 'tooth', *duma-* 'tail', *duṃ-berri* 'tail feathers', *pātīve* 'paws, claws', *pārra-* 'feather, wing', *phajsa-* 'rump', *bajsa-* 'groin', *bṛha-* 'back', *śājsano* 'fork', *ṣaṃbajsa-* 'claw', *ṣū* 'horn', adjective *ṣvīnaa-*, *ṣuṃca*, *ṣuṃcha-* 'beak' (*tuṇḍa-*), *ṣvīda-* 'milk', *haska-* 'tusk', *häysa-* 'skin', *huto* 'thigh, groin', *gūśta* 'flesh', *ggälsāra-*, *gesāra*, *gīsāra-* 'neck'.

The Iranian origin of these names of animals can be at once detected. The tame beasts are the following: *aśśa-*, *aśa-* 'horse' from **aśya-* in Old Persian *asa-* (*assa-*), Zor. Pahl. *as-* in *asa-bāra-* 'rider'. New Persian *suvār*, Waxī *yaš*, Avestan *aspa-*, New Persian *asp*. A second word for a messenger's horse seems to be *baji-* in some connexion with Ossetic *bäx* 'horse', both from the base *vak-* 'to run swiftly'. The courier has the Chinese name *tcauta-bava* in the official document translated in Asia Major 11 n.s. 1964, 22, representing the Chinese *tsou-ma* 'having a running horse' an epithet to express speed.[9] A Khotan Saka word *baji-* from *vak-* 'to run', formed like *tači-* 'running' would well express the speed of a messenger. For camel they had *ula-*, where Krorain had *uṭa-*, feminine *uṭi* (the *-ṭ-* would represent a double *-ṭṭ-*). The Khotan Saka *ula-* will have come through **uẓla-* with *-l-* from older *-θr-* (as in the name *Baxl*, *Balx* from *Baktra*). Old Persian *uša-* has a different change. The ass is *khara-* and mule *khaḍara-* from older **xara-tara-*, Sogdian *γrtr'k* with the same suffix as in Old Indian *aśva-tara-* 'mule'. The bovines are *gūha-* 'ox', *gūhā-* 'cow' and *dīnū* 'milch cow' with Avestan *daēnu-*, Old Indian *dhenu-*. The adjective *gvīha-* occurs in *gvīha-rrūna-* 'butter', like Sogdian *γāv-rōγn*. For goat there are three words, *buysa-*, as Avestan *buysa-*, Zor. Pahl. *buz*. Waxī *buč*; *tcānai* with Avestan **sčani-* (*sačaēni-*, *sačaini-*), Pašto *γar-canai* 'mountain goat'; *ttura-* with Ossetic *dzäbo-dur*, Iron *dzäbi-dyr* 'mountain goat', where the *dzäbo-*, *dzäbī-* is from **ǰabas-*, with *dzäbäx* 'excellent', like *uezdon γäuānz* 'noble stag'. Old Slavonic *turŭ* is the 'aurochs'. The word Avestan *aza-* 'goat' may

have survived in Khotan Saka in the word *aysdāṃ* some kind of 'corn', possibly from **aza-dānā-* 'goat's grain'.

For sheep there are the words *pasä* from *pasu*, with adjective *pasīna-*; *pasīña hvaśā* 'mash of mutton'; and *maiša-* in the adjective *ṃiña guśta* 'sheep's flesh' with Avestan *maēša-*, Zor. Pahl. *mēš*. The wild sheep can be put with the wild animals. For pig there is *pḡsa-*, and *pāsi salya* 'Hog Year', and *pḡśa guśta* 'pig's flesh'; and *hva-* in a compound *hva-khāṃdalaja* 'made from boar's tusk' (*āruka-*). The dog is *śvān-*, nom. sing. *śve*, plural *śśuvānä*, gen. plur. *śvānānu*, with Avestan *span-* inflected with *sun-*, Zor. Pahl. *sak*, New Persian *sag*, Turfan Parthian *'spg*, Pašto *spai*. The cat is *susi* in a manuscript with a drawing of the cat-demon. The large cattle are *stūra-*, with Zor. Pahl. *stōr*, and Bud. Skt. *sthora-*. The Zor. Pahlavī has also *kavāh* 'small cattle'.

The wild beasts called *data-*, *dava-*, Sogdian *δt-*, with Avestan *daitika-*, are *arrä* 'bear', *khara-* in adjectives *kharīña*, *kherye* 'deer', *āska-* 'antelope', Balōčī *āsk*, Sogdian *"s'wk'* from *āsu-* 'swift', Zor. Pahl. *āhūk*; *ggūysna-* 'deer', Avestan *gavasna-*, Zor. Pahl. *gavazn*. The wolf is *birgga-*, *bärga-*, Avestan *vəhrka-*, New Persian *gurg*. The tiger is *muya-*, related to Sogdian *myw*. For rat there is *mūla-*, with New Persian *mūš*. The jackal is named with the word for 'fox' in *rruvāsa-*, Ossetic Digoron *robās*, Iron *ruvās*, Zor. Pahl. *rōpās*, Old Indian *lopāśa-*, Greek ἀλώπηξ. The lion is *sarau*, later also *sarrau*, with Sogdian *šryw*, and Turfan Parthian *šgr*, New Persian *šēr*; the name would seem to be from *sar-* 'to pounce upon'. In the folklore the lion is king of beasts, hence here *sarrau datā rre* and with the loan-word *śāya-* also *sarrau śāyāna re*, like the Bud. Skt. *siṃho mṛga-rājā*. There is also the word for hare in Khotan Saka *saha-*, *sahaica-* from Indo-Iranian **śasa-*, whence Iranian *saha-*, but Old Indian *śaśa-*, Germanic Old High German *haso* and Old English *hara* 'hare' from the base Indo-European *k̂as-* 'grey colour', Latin *cānus* 'grey' and Old English *hasu* 'brown and grey'. Three names of wild beasts are paralleled in Waxī. These are *purṣṣa*, Waxī *vrokš* 'ovis Poli, wild mountain sheep', *drauṣṣa*, Waxī *drokš* 'bull', and *jūṣḍa-*, Waxī *yukš* 'wild goat', with Parthian in Armenian *youška-* and New Persian *vušk* 'ass'.

The foreign Bud. Skt. *tiryag-yoni* for 'animal' became *ttärśaśūnī* in Khotan Saka with many later forms. The Bud. Skt. *śvāpadaka-* passed to Khotan Saka *śśauggī* with added suffix *-īya-*, and *śvāpada-* became Khotan Saka *śāya-*.

There are also the insects and reptiles. Thus *mḡta-* 'bee, fly', from Avestan *maxšī-*; *mūmja-*, *muṃjaka-* 'ant', Avestan *maoiri-*, *maurvi-*, Zor. Pahl., New Persian *mōr*, Ossetic Digoron *muldzug*, Iron *mäldzyg*; *gūṇā*

'worm', from base *gau-* 'to bite'; *pära-* 'worm'; *hajse* 'insect', for Buddhist Sanskrit *kṣudraka-*; *khuysa-* 'frog, tortoise'; *vīśūna-* 'spider', rendering Bud. Skt. *lūtā-*; *droṇve* 'scorpion'; *śśaysda-* 'snake', with Avestan *syazd-* 'to creep'; *kava-* 'fish', adjective *kavīña guśta* 'flesh of fish', Sogdian *kpy*, Ossetic *käf*; *ttavaṃga-* 'moth'.

Foreign words were *nāga-*, *nāta-*, *nā* 'dragon, serpent', Bud. Skt. *nāga-*; *makala-* 'monkey', Bud. Skt. *markaṭa-* with intrusive *-r-* from the base *mak-* 'to move swiftly', Tokhara Kuci *mokoṃśke*; *mahairṣa-* 'buffalo', Bud. Skt. *mahiṣa-*; *kurma-*, Bud. Skt. *kūrma-* 'tortoise'; *karkaṭa-* 'crab', Bud. Skt. *karkaṭa-*; *bastä* 'goat', Bud. Skt. *vasti-*; *vyāgra-* 'tiger', Bud. Skt. *vyāghra-*.

Many names of birds of the old Iranian vocabulary occur in the Khotan Saka texts. The word for bird is *mura-* and *muraka-* from **mṛga-* in Avestan *mərəγa-*, Turfan Parthian *mwrg*, Turfan Persian *mwrw*, New Persian *murγ*, Ossetic *mary*, but Old Indian *mṛga-* of 'bird' in Vedic, but normally 'wild beast'. In the medical text the Siddhasāra the flesh of various birds is prescribed, and in the lyrical poems the birds share in the garden with the lovers.

The list is an extended one. Thus there occur: *aṣṣänaka-*, *aṣṇai*, Tokhara Kuci *ekṣinek*, Ossetic *äxsinängä* 'pigeon' from the colour name *äṣṣeiṇa-* 'blue'; *äce*, *äci* 'water bird, duck', with Ossetic *äcc*, *ädždž* 'wild duck', Old Indian *āti-*; *āṇaka-* 'quail', for Bud. Skt. *vartīra-*; *īmūka* 'parrot' from Chinese; *ūcā mūrakä* 'water-birds'; *uysgana-*, *aysgana-* 'vulture', New Persian *zaγan*; *kakūṣa-* 'raptor bird', like Turkish *kakük*, from base *kark-* 'to strike'; *kakva* 'partridge'. if Zor. Pahl. *kaβg*, New Persian *kabk*; *kṛṅga-*, *krreṃga-* 'cock'; *kauraka-* 'pigeon', Bud. Skt. *kapotaka-*; *khaukeja-* 'lark' (*lāva-*); *cāṣg-*, *tcāṣg-* 'jay' (*cāṣa-*) from *kāš-*, *kās-* 'blue'; *ttatara-*, *ttara-* 'partridge', (*tittiri-*), Median *tetaros*; *tcīrau*, *tcīrauka-* 'duck', Zor. Pahl. *č'hlw'k *čaxravāk*, Bud. Skt. *cakravāka-*; *tcyāṃśvāṃ* 'fowl', adjective *tcyāṃśyīna-*, *papūśkya-* 'hoopoe', Chorasmian *pwpšyk*, New Persian *pūpak*; *baḍye* 'quail' (*vartaka-*); *biṃja-*, *bejakye*, *baijakye* 'sparrow', New Persian *vanǰ*, *binǰušk* (*caṭaka-*); *bīdye* 'pie', Old Indian *pīka-*, Latin *pīca*; *ḃyūva* 'owl', Ossetic *ug*; New Persian *buh*; *murāsa-* 'peacock', from **m(y)aura-*, Pašto *myawr*, Old Indian *mayūra-*; *ysara-* 'partridge', Pašto *zarka* (*tittiri-*); *ysūmä* with Ossetic *zum* 'crow'; *ṣṣund-* 'raven', *ṣāṃdala-*, Waxī *šönd*, Ossetic Digoron *sunt*, Iron *synt*; *siyā-*, *syā-* 'goose' (*rājahaṃsa-*); *stārya-* 'starling', Old English *stær*.

There are also foreign words, Bud. Skt. *karavīra-*, *karavī* 'cuckoo'; *kaukala-* 'cuckoo', (*kokila-*). For the raptor bird there is an epithet *biśauraka-*; *uysgana-* also is the 'raptor' from base *gan-* 'seize'.

Before turning to the intellectual life in *Gostana-deśa* there remain the

mundane matters of food and drink (*hvaḍa khaṣṭa*) and commerce. Thus *nāṃji* 'bread', connected with older Iranian **nakana-* and **nagana-*, Zor. Pahl. *nān*, Armenian loan-word *nkan*, *nkanak*, which was carried far into High Asia, so that it survives as *nan* in the Ket language on the Ienisei River in Siberia; *pāra-* 'cake', *saka-pāra* 'griddle cake', *pauṇḍai* 'cake', *būka* 'food', with *būkaja-* 'steward' and *hurāśna-* 'kitchen'; *khāysa-* 'food', with *khaysa-*, *khaṣa*, *khaca* 'food'; *guśta* 'meat' *hvīḍa-* 'food' from *hvar-* 'to eat'; *khaṣṭa-* 'beverage'; *khaysana-* 'banquet'; base *baug-*, *bujsana-* 'feast'; *papāgye* 'feast' from *pīp-* 'to prepare food' from *pā-*; *khāṣe* 'spices'; *ttūra-* 'cheese (?)'; *ttujai* 'cheese (?)' from *tau-* 'be sour'; *śaumana-* 'sour foods (?)'; *sutta-* 'vinegar'; *namva* 'salt'; *nīyaka-*, *ñe* 'curds'; *ṣvīda-* 'milk'; *rrūna-* 'oil', *gvīharrūna-* 'butter', Avestan *raoγna-*; *tcāra-*, *tcārba-* 'fat'; *päyä*, *pī* 'fat'; *pattarā-* 'food'; *ttrākha-* 'seller of food (?)'; *hvaśā* 'mash'; *hvaṣī* 'food' from *hu-* with base *as-* 'to eat'; *śśaśvāna-* 'mustard'. A list of foods occurs once in *paiḫa paṃna*: *hauśa hūlāṃ hvauskha hvaṣī pāraka*. Foreign words were *gūla-* 'molasses'; *mākṣī* 'honey'; *pippalī* 'pepper'. The word *phūḍe* too may be 'food'. For fermented liquors they had *mau* 'liquor' which rendered Bud. Skt. *mada-* and *surā-* and Tibetan *chaṅ* 'beer', *ysarūṃ gürāṇai mau* 'red grape wine'; *hurā* 'fermented mare's milk'; *bātaa-* 'fresh wine, must'; general terms were *bveysa-* 'intoxicant'; *īra-* 'ale' and *bvīysna-* 'sesame drink' for Chinese *cī-ma*; *khaṣg jsa* 'beverage'.

Grains are known *rrusā-* 'barley', *rrusāḍa-* 'barley flour', *hāmai* 'naked barley', *hāmīnā āḍa-* 'barley flour'; *jsāra-* 'corn'; *ganama-* 'wheat', possibly *hau* 'oats'.

Many of the plants and foods were present in the medical texts. The Khotan Saka medical tradition was based upon technical Buddhist Sanskrit treatises. The theory of Indian medicine of the three *doṣa-* states of the body is set out at the beginning of the Siddhasāra of Ravigupta. The whole theory of Indian medicine has been assiduously studied. The translator's preface to the Siddhasāra is enthusiastic for the foreign learning. The physician is called *vīja-* from Prakrit *vejja-*, Bud. Skt. *vaidya*, the attendant is *vaṭhānara-* (from Bud. Skt. *upasthāna-kara-*), the treatment is *krra*, plural *krre*, the Bud. Skt. *kriyā-*. Surgery has its own chapter where the Khotan Saka terms are *gvehaiśkye* for *śalya-*, *thūra-ma* and *pitcīyi* 'spoon' and *haṣkarā* 'forceps' listed earlier among the tools. The bilingual Buddhist Sanskrit and Khotan Saka medical text in which the Buddha is represented addressing Jīvaka (in tradition his own physician) and which to give it a name I called *Jīvaka-pustaka*,[10] sets out section by section the Sanskrit text and Khotan Saka rendering. Besides the foods and beverages in the prescriptions reference is made to minerals and metals: *tralo* 'tin', *śā* 'copper',

hīśaṃ 'iron', *ysīra-* 'gold', *ǧjsa* 'silver' and their rusts (*ysǧya-*); *svaṃdūṃ* 'sulphur', various salts, cited earlier. For the measurement of the doses they had *sera-* 'ounce' from older *satīra-*, ultimately Greek *statēr*; *śiṃga-* 'half *prastha-*', Chinese *ṣing* from *śiəng* 'litre, pint'; *ṣṣaṃga* 'four *prastha-*' and *pila-* 'sack (?)'. Kuci medicine had *satera* and *trākäm* 'drakhmē', but Khotan Saka used *draṃma-* in a financial sense.

In other contexts occur measures: *śīgä, śaiga* for 'hides'; *khara, kha* for grain and grapes; *khamūḍa* for grain.

Commerce was the basis of riches in these Tarim Basin oases, small kingdoms on the Silk Route from China to Byzantine Rome. The market was called *bahoysana-*, plural *bahauysna*, loc. sing. *bahoysña*, which has preserved the ancient Indo-European base *ɣes-* 'to trade' in the Iranian form *vah-* of Zor. Pahl. *vahāk* 'price', New Persian *bahā*; Ossetic *ŭäyä* 'sale' with *vaz-* 'to transact, weigh'. In the West of Iran Zor. Pahl. *vāčār* 'market', Armenian loan-word *vačaṙ*, Sogd. *w'črn* is from **vahā-vāčarana-*. The merchant of the Khotan Saka market is called *bahauysa-* (from **vahā-vāza-*). A market (*ćhoṅ-hdus*) is mentioned in the Tibetan Annals of Khotan called *ka-'a-sta hdize* '(the shop of) furs and hides', that is Khotan Saka *karasta u(d) häysa*. The Tibetan word *phrom, khrom* 'market' was familiar as part of a place name *ysabaḍi parrūṃ* 'Zbal market'.

In trading 'to trade' was expressed by *xrai-*; *xrī-*, present *grän-, gin-*, participle *gäräta-*, (*uys-*)*grīta-*, the Old Iranian base *xrai-* and Old Indian *krīṇāti, krīta-*; 'to sell' was *parāth-, parāt* from *parā-dā-* (reduplicated *-dad-* to *-th-*), differing from West Iran Zor. Pahl. *fravaš-, fravaxt-*. For 'price' *pīha-* was used from *pai-* 'to give'; and 'value' *āra-* from *arga-*, like Ossetic *arɣ*. 'Trading' was *girya-parā, girai parä*. Debts were *pāra-, pāḍa-* and *pīra-*; and 'payment' of debts was expressed by the verb *māj-* from the base *mag-* in Avestan *maga-* and Old Indian *magha-*. The old base *zam-* 'to pay (wages, salary)' survived in *ysaṃtha-* 'interest, usury', in Avestan *zəmanā-* 'payment, wages', glossed by Zor. Pahl. *mizd*, and in Pašto *zəman, zamne* 'salary, stipend', Sogdian *z'mn'k* 'with payment', *'wz'm-* 'to repay', *'wzms* 'he repaid'.

Other business terms were *hira-* 'possession, money', glossing Bud. Skt. *vastu, dhana-*; *rāysai* like *prahänaja* 'earnest money' (Bud. Skt. *praheṇaka-* 'gift') for which Bud. Skt. had the loan-word *udranga-, avadranga-* from Iranian *drang-* 'to hold firm'. The Prakrit *pravanai*, plural *pravanā*, adjective *pravanāja*, was used for 'account, register'; the Krorain word was *pravaṃnaǵa* 'account' from older *pratipanna-* 'entered into an account'. For 'pledge' the Krorain had *namani* equivalent to *bandha-* 'pledge' and in

view of Zor. Pahl. *np'k*, Sogdian *np'q*, Chorasmian *nibāk*, New Persian *navā* 'pledge', is likely to derive from an Iranian **nipāna-*.

The taxes were called *thaṃga-* 'exaction'. Thus *rrvī thaṃgi kiṇa* 'for the Court tax', with *thaṃgaura-* 'tax-payer'.

The merchant was *hāruva-, hārva-* adjective *hārña-*, with older *-uka-* (rather than *-uva-*) of agent, a form to be compared with Old Indian *pāku-ka-* 'cook' and Kušān in Kharoṣṭhī script *yavuga-, ya'uga-* from **yāvuka-* 'leader of a troop'. That would give to *hāruva-* the base *har-* 'to sell', familiar in Indo-European *sel-*, Germanic *saljan* 'to sell'. This word *hāruva-* translated Bud. Skt. *śreṣṭhin-*, but in the sense of 'merchant' as rendered in Chinese and Tibetan, not in the Central Indian sense of 'guild-master'. The derivative *hāruvaṣṣai* renders Bud. Skt. *śreṣṭhi-dāraka-* in the story of Jalavahana.

The 'rich' were *tsāta-* from older **čyāta-*, with *ts-* (= *tsi-*) from *čy-*, where Old Persian had *šiy-*, Avestan *šy-, š-*, Sogdian *'nč'y-, 'nč'nh* 'cease', Ossetic *äncājun, äncād* 'peace' (*c* = *ts*) to the Indo-European base *kuiē-* beside Khotan Saka *tsāṣṭa-* 'quiet' with *-s-*. The 'poor' were *duṣpäṣa-* 'weak'.

Silk came from China on the Silk Route via Khotan, but more usually via Kuci. It is called *thauna-* as the 'cloth' par excellence; there was also a kind called *śaṃcī, śacī*; and also *haiya* rendering Bud. Skt. *pattrorṇa-*. In the Krorain documents *cina-paṭa-* 'cloth of China' is used for silk.

Law was a recognised concept in Khotan. They had the ancient word *dāta-* 'set, laid down, established' as a general word. This they used for the Bud. Skt. *dharma-* when it meant 'established doctrine', though in the philosophic sense *dharma-* 'element' was rendered by *hära-* 'thing' and for *dharma-* 'custom' they used *padaṃjā-*.

The *dāta-* was in charge of the king with his representative the *pharṣa-vatā-*, 'judge', later *pharṣatā-, pharṣavā-, pharṣṣā-, pharṣā-*, Tibetan *phar-śa, par-śa, pa-śa* and Chinese *p'o-ṣa* (from *p'uâ-ṣa*),[12] that is from **fraša-pati-* 'official for questioning', like the Indian *prāḍ-vivāka-* and the Tumšuq Saka word *pursickari* 'investigation'. A further derivative of this *fraš-* was the philosophic term North-West Prakrit *praṣaṃḍa-* rendered in Greek by διατρίβων 'disputant, investigator',[13] which to the Buddhist gave the word in hostile sense *paṣaṇḍa-*, once only so far as *pāṣāḍa-* found in Khotan Saka. The word was formed with the attested change of *-anta-* to *-aṇḍa-*, as in Old Indian *jaraṇḍa-* 'old' and *taraṇḍa-* 'boat'.

Penalties were in force, beating (*hvah-, hvasta-*) symbolised by *daula-* 'stick' for the Bud. Skt. *daṇḍa-*; putting to death in the word *jsīñaa-* 'condemned to death' (*jsan-* 'kill'), binding (*baña-, basta*) in a *baṃdana-*

śālā- 'prison' or in a *bārmana-* (*var-* 'to shut in'). The Bud. Skt. *kāraṇā-* 'torments' are used in tales of *naraka-, niraya-*. The suppression of crime was expressed by the verb *nirhīś-* and noun *niharka-*, from base *θrang-* 'press' and by *daṃjā-* 'taming' from *dam-* 'to tame', participle *danda-*. The Chinese word *phguva* 'penalty' occurs in the document in KT 5.2.2.6.

Various criminals are named: *ttāṣę* 'thief, robber' (base *stā-*), Tumšuq Saka *ṣṭena-* 'theft'. The *kāṭha-ṃjsuva* may be 'house-breakers', the *hvarāka-* 'robber' (*hvar-* 'to seize'). The travellers were unsafe; the Cimuḍa tribe robbed on the roads. The *jsañaulysa-* 'killer' and *hvgnda-jsanā* 'man-killers' (equated with Bud. Skt. *caṇḍāla-*) were feared.

Legal documents have survived. They are made valid by the signatures (*haṃguṣṭa-* 'finger') of *parramaa-* officials, and are sealed, the sealing expressed by the verb *pyays-*. The document KT 2.126–129 is a *parau* 'rescript' issued in the fourth *kṣuṇa-*period in the Horse Year of the King of Khotan *Śrī Viśę Śūra*. The *parau* is sent out from the *Kvana-* 'office'.

An appeal in a document may have an authorisation added in reply at the base. Thus a woman claiming (KT 4.21.2) redress for the carrying off of two sons appeals to the *Ṣṣau Śattuṃ* (*ṣau* 'governor'). Restitution is ordered by the *Ṣṣau Śadū* (a different spelling of the name) at the base of the document.

A document of fosterage or adoption (*perma-*) is set out in a *perma-vāḍi* 'document of adoption' in the text of KT 2.14. The base of the word *perma-* is *pār-* 'to nourish', hence **pārmya-*.

Marriage is implied frequently in the stories and the official documents. The husband is called *kṣundaa-* from the older *fšuyant-* 'fattener of cattle', as in Yidγa *šfūi*, Zor. Pahl. *šūy*, New Persian *šūi* (**fšuyaka-*). The wife is the *nārā-* from older *nārī-* feminine to *nara-* 'man'. The young woman is said to be *kṣuṃdā-bāḍvaa-* 'of time for a husband' in the story of Rāma and Sītā; the two adjectives *kṣuṃdausta* 'having a husband, married' and *ikṣuṃdā* 'without husband' occur in documents. The marriage is consummated in the act *haṃsatātä, haṃse* 'union'. In the Indian Buddhist tales there is the *andīvära-* 'inner chamber', with its members the *andīvārāṇo gäṣǫ* (acc. sing.). This is the Bud. Skt. *antaḥ-pura-*, Pali *ante-pura-*. The Khotan Saka name was *kasājsa-* (plural).[14]

So far then the life of the ordinary man and woman of Saka Khotan has been documented. It is time to turn to the more exciting and permanent intellectual world of the Sakas.

Notes

1. I. A. Richmond, The Sarmatae, Journal of Roman Studies 35, 1945, 16–19; T. Sulimirski, The Sarmatians, 1970, in Ancient peoples and places.

2. J. Hackin, Formulaire sanscrit-tibétain du Xe siècle, 1924.

3. The problem of *ārya-*, H. W. Bailey, Khotanese Texts 6, 1967, 9, s.v. *aśye*; and earlier Transactions of the Philological Society 1947, 144.

4. P. Zieme, Manichäische türkische Texte, Berliner Turfantexte V, 1975, p. 66, note 699.

5. Details on the name Tarmita in BSOAS 13, 1950, 403.

6. Sylvain Lévi, Mélanges Linossier II, 1932, 355 ff.; P. C. Majumder, Ārya Maitreya-vyākaraṇaṃ, 1959. The forms of the name of *Maitreya* are listed in Khotanese Texts 6, 1967, 280–81.

7. The calendar is in BSOS 8, 1937, 930–933, and in Khotanese 1, 1945, 6.

8. The animal cycle of twelve names occurs first in Kroraina Prakrit, edited by H. Lüders, Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises, SPAW 1933, 1–27. Here is a survey of the series:

Kroraina	Bud. Skt.	Khotan Saka	Sogdian	Kuci	Türk
muṣka	mantilya	mūla	mwš	arśakärśa	sïčgan
gava	go-vṛṣa	gūhi	γ'w	okso	ud, öküz
vyagra	vyaghra	muyi	myw	mewiyo	pars
śaśaka	śaśa	sahaici	xrγwšy	ṣaṣe	tawïšgan
nāǵa	nāga	nā	n'k	nāk	n'k (= nāk)
jaṃdunaṃca	jantunaḥ	śaysdi	kyrmy	auk	yïlan
aśpa	aśva	aśi	'spy	yakwe	yund, at
paśa	paśu	pasi	psyy	śaiyye	qoy
makaḍ'a	markaṭa	makala	mkr'	mokoṃśke	bičin
kukkuḍ'a	kukkuṭa	krregi	mrγyy	kraṅko	takagu
śvana	śvāna	śve	kwty	kū	ït
suǵara	sūkara	pāṣi	k's	suwo	tonguz

In the Annuaire (école pratique des hautes études) 1973, 355, L. Bazin expressed the view that the Cycle was of Chinese origin.

9. Chinese 走馬 *tsou-ma* from older *tsəu-ma* 'courier with a running horse' became Khotan Saka *tcauta-bava* in plural form with *-a*. Note the Zor. Pahl. *uštr ī tačak* 'the running camel' to express speed.

10. The Jīvaka-pustaka (a title invented for the manuscript) is in Kho-

tanese 1, 1945 (reprint 1969), 136–196 with the Buddhist Sanskrit text separated from the Khotan Saka translation. The facsimile is published in Codices khotanenses 1938, folios 71–141.

11. The name of silk was treated recently by Ed. Pulleyblank, Asia Major, n.s. 9, 1962, 229–230.

12. Chinese 破沙 *p'o-ṣa* from older *p'uâ-ṣa* (Grammata serica recensa 25 o and K 846).

13. For the Greek text περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν διατρίβοντες, see E. Benveniste, Journal asiatique, 1964, 152; cited by K. R. Norman, JRAS 1972, 113.

14. The inner chambers (*kasājsa-, kasaujsa-*) are presented in the Sudhana story (translation, BSOAS 29, 1966, 511 and 513). The word *kasājsa-* is the adjective to the word *kasā-* 'inner part or place'.

Chapter 3

Cultural Life: Painting and Music; Ancient Religions and Traditions before Buddhism; Buddhist Literature in Khotan; Khotanese Saka Language; Adjacent Cities

It is now time to leave the life of the ordinary citizen or countryman of Khotan and notice the high level of cultural achievement in literature, art, religion, and philosophy. We have here a formerly nomad tribe, one of the numerous Saka tribes who before the second century before our era had settled to urban life and who, fructified by their earlier Mazdean tradition and later by the Indian internationalist Buddhist teaching, were aiming at written philosophy to make, in the process, in Khotan a desired resort of the learned of the Imperial Court of T'ang China in their search for Buddhist authentic records. These learned men of China also in time passed over the sky-high mountains and difficult ravines to India, the home itself of Buddhism. It seems likely that before 300 A.D. Khotan had adopted the Buddhist religion. Certainly the land was Indianised and the king had the Indian title *dheva-*[1] (*deva-*) beside the local *hinajha* 'leader of armies', the later *hīnāysa-*. In their legends, the Khotanese set back their conversion to the period of Aśoka, the Maurya king of India (272–232).[2]

It is from the books, small survivals from a large written heritage, that it is possible to know the thoughts of the Sakas of Khotan. One manuscript[3] survives in one folio numbered 611 in fine old religious script. A poem in about 4000 lines, double verses (though some are broken now), exists fairly complete. Of the non-literary archives we have a number of long diplomatic documents.

For book the Khotan Saka used a form of the Buddhist Sanskrit *postaka-*, calling it in Prakrit form *pūstya*.[4] These were in separate leaves. But they knew also the roll[5] of which some have been wonderfully preserved.

The painter's board was the *tvārā-*.[6] A proverb saw the painter (*pīrāka-*

'writer' and 'painter') terrified by his own picture of a goblin. Thus Z 9.19 *samu kho pīrākä pvgittä ttye yakṣi ca tvera pīḍe*; the verse is repeated in the Manjuśrī text (396).[7] The 'painted bowl' *pīḍa- hamauka-* (KT 2.69, 10a3) is known, and 'painted gods', the *pīḍa gyasta* (Z 24.240). The base *pīs-* also, older *pais-*, is used of the painter *pīsaa-* and *pīsaundä*, and his painting *pīsa-*, beside *pīrū-* (inst. sing. *pīrūna*). A picture of the painter painting at Qïzïl is on plate 36, A von le Coq, Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan 1928, and Spätantike III p. 9, having the title *citrakara-* below.

In a context with *pīsai* there occurs once *hvāraka-*[8] 'colourer' connected with the Ossetic Digoron *xuārun, xurst* 'to colour', *xuārän* 'colour', Iron *āxoryn, āxŭrst, āxorän*, with Sogdian *xwrn* 'colour' and *ptxwrk, ptywrk'*. The base *pais-* is found elsewhere in Khotan Saka *śśī-phīsa-* 'white' (from *śīta-* and *paisa-*). Paintings have been found by archaeologists and some can be seen in the books of M. Aurel Stein. There is a painting of a Buddha in the manuscript written by Puṇyabuddha of the Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra (folio *27).

The roll of manuscript was made by sticking together separate sheets of paper. Over the joints in the manuscript P 5538a there is a seal repeated at each joint. The hole to receive the string is regularly marked on the separate sheets of the *pūstya-* book, but the hole is not perforated, and the scribe avoids the circle round the hole. The large roll Ch'ien-fo-tung c.001 has over 1100 lines. Coins Sino-Kharoṣṭhī and Kušan[9] can be called in to fill out the picture.

Music has a notable part in the tales, both religious and worldly. The three types of instrument, for strings, wind and percussion were known, denoted by the verbs *ṣkū-* 'touch', *dam-* 'to blow' and *kalj-* 'to beat'. The tightening *astān-* 'to tune' is mentioned. The instrument *bīnā-* is connected with the Bud. Skt. *vīṇā-*, but was also known in Zor. Pahl. *vin* and Armenian loan-word *vin*, Arab.-Pers. *van, vanǰ*.[10] From this *bīn-* were made the two words Khotan Saka *bīnāna* 'musical instrument' and *bīnāña-* 'music'.

The Bud. Skt. *pancāngika-* with *turiya-, tūrya-* for the five kinds of musical instruments (three kinds of drum, percussion and wind) is found in the form *paṃca-turyāṃga-*, (KT 1.248, 72r2) and *paja-turyāṃga-* (64,80v4). Represented in Khotan Saka are *gaysakya* 'flute' from *gaysa-* 'reed', *gahvardama-* and *gaṃhvera-dräna* 'flautist'; *tcaṃgiḍai* 'harp (?)'; *pätūśa-, pūśka-* 'drum' with the general *kargaka-* 'percussion instrument', *kalj-* 'to beat'. In battle the *ṣū*, plural *ṣve*, 'horn' and the foreign *śaṃga-* 'conch', are cited.[11] In the fabled world of *devas* the music is played untouched: *bīnāña aṣkusta-adaunda- akrīya-*, the Bud. Skt. *aghaṭṭita-*. The two lovers in the love-story[12] play on the strings (*ṣkvīda*) and blow (*damīda*) the flute. Music was taught

as an art in Kroraina around 300 A.D. long before our extant texts in Khotan Saka and there the word was *gaṃdhava* from the older *gandharva*, that is the art of the celestial *gandharva* in the Buddhist texts. They are named in a Buddhist context in the stūpa inscription of Seṇavarma,[13] king of Oḍi. It is, as mentioned, in Kharoṣṭhī script and of the time of the Emperor Kuyula Kataphśa. The wind blown harp, the Aeolian harp (Z 13.111 *bātäna ṣerate bīna*) is known; it is like the *tāla* in the Maitreya-vyākaraṇa[14]: the sweet sounds from the *tāla* trees moved by the wind (*rluṅ-bskyod tala de-dag-las sñan-pahi sgra ni hdi*).

Singing also was a favourite art. The lovers in the lyrical poems delight in the songs of birds (*ysār-* 'to sing' like Ossetic *zārun, zārd*). The word *nvāga, nvāka, nvāya* and *nvākaka* was the name of men's songs, connected with Zor. Pahl. *nivāk*, Turfan Persian *nw'g*, Sogdian *nw'q, nw'kyy*, New Persian *navā* and *navāxtan*; loan-words in Armenian *nouag*, and Georgian *novagi*. With *hu-* New Persian has *xūnyā*, Zor. Pahl. *hunivākīh* 'music'. Songs in assemblies are cited in Z 21.29 *haṃggargya nvāya*.

The Buddhists knew in their tradition a celestial musician who sang in honour of *Śakra devānām indro*, the minstrel called *Pancaśikha*. The song was diverted to be a hymn to the Buddha and preserved in the *śakra-praśna* text.[15] This musician is portrayed in the *vihāra-*college of Bäzäklik.[16]

In the Tibetan text of the Annals of Khotan the following royal names are recorded in the family of *Vijaya* (*bźah*): *Sambhava, Vīrya, Vaya, Dharmā, Siṃha, Kīrti, Saṅgrāma, Vikrama, Dharmā, Sambhava, Bohan* (*Vāhana*), *Śata, Nanta, Saṅgrāma, Bala*. The names of queens also are associated with *vihāra* whose names they bear: *Horoñjo, Poblonojo, 'Ermono, Khomonono, Gusderema vihāra, 'Okano, Guskyi 'ormoyoṅnag* (*kuspahi 'ormyoṅnag*), *Gcohuna, Khyeśona, Namohbudoṅ, Hdahnoyono*. The royal names of queens are the following: *Puñeśvara, Śorgya, Drugumo, Huroṅga, Śutoka*, daughter of the king of Osku, the wife of the king of *Gahǰag* (*Kančak*).

To set beside these many royal names, the benefactors and founders, the Khotan Saka documents have made known the following eight: *Viśg Sabava, Viśg Saṃbhava, Viśg Śūra, Viśa Darma, Viśg Vāhaṃ, Viśg Saṃgrāma, Viśa Kīrttä, Viśya Vikrraṃ*. The name of the family has many forms. In Khotan Saka documents *Viśg* and *Viśya* are used. In the Bud. Skt. *Vījitti Saṃbhava*. The Kharoṣṭhī text no. 661 has *vij'ida*; the Tibetan *bźah*, and *bidzaya*. The Chinese 尉遲 *uei-ṭṣ'ï* from older *wei-d'i*. Tibetan has also *Biźa* and *Byiźa*. Since once the *Vi janavi*[17] 'the land Vi' occurs probably for Khotan the royal name may be an adjective from this *Vi* by *-śg*. The Bud. Skt. forms desire to introduce *vijaya-* 'victory'.

The names of local persons are abundant. It cannot be here the aim to list

all these names. Among them are men on *spaśa* 'observation duty' and others connected with taxes on grain. Colophons often give the name of the patron and of the writer if he was different. The *āṣ̌ī, ārya-*monk, the *bhikṣu,* clearly preferred Buddhist Sanskrit names. In the letter[18] written to Mąhyāra (in Tibetan Moḥyora) the writer gives the names of five *ārya* friends. These are *Yaśi-praṃña,* the spiritual adviser (*kalyāṇamitra*) and knower of two canonical collections (*dvi-piṭaka-*), the teacher (*ācārya-*) and prior (*pramukha,* which was the title of the head of the *Nava-vihāra* in Baktra, Balx, when the Arabs invaded, in Tibetan form *barmag,* the family familiar in the Arabian Nights); secondly, *Puṃñamittra,* knowing the three collections (*tri-piṭaka-*), the teacher, and prior; thirdly *Mittrapraṃña* prior, knowing the three collections; fourth, prior, knowing the three collections *Nāgasthira*; fifth, the teacher, knowing the three collections *Badriśvaramittra.* The type of triple compounds had become a favourite.

In another text, a metrical text (KT 2.3–4), the *haṣḍa-*report contains a list of other learned *ārya-*monks. Hence we have here *Vimalaśīla,* brother *Daivaisū, Nāgrābada, Bvaidaśīla, Daidrāṃkarabhadra, Dairāhasū, Kalyāṇabhadra, Daivarāca, Nāgaśaikṣa, Bhvaiśgsaidaśīle, Kṣaidrākarapuña, Dvaśakūle, Prrañaisū, Nāgendrravardhana, Vedyaśīla.*

Some of these names are not yet fully analysed. The men in lists of *spaśara* (from **spasya-kara-*) on *spaśa* duty are probably posted on guard duty at the *prūva-* 'fort' as an observation post. This is, as we saw before, the Krorain *pirova,* from earlier **pati-raupa-,* like Sogdian *ptr'wp-* 'castle'. The following list of names is in KT 2.27.34: *Arsäli, Marṣgdatti, Īrvadatti, Khaukūlā Sudatti, Śāṃdatti, Bärgaṃdara Suhadatti, Kharamūrrai, Saloki, Śīla* (who were despatched on the 8th day) of the month *Siṃjsīja,* fourth spring month. A second list has: *Kharajsajsai, Suhadāysä, Suhena, Virgāṃ, Namḍaki, Ṣanīraki, Sūradatti, Si Vidyadatti, Ṣanīraki.* A third list follows: *Śīlaṃ, Pųysdaki, Maṃñe, Phaṃnāji Suhadatti, Kūcalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, Khau Si Vidyadatti, Pg Sudati.* A fourth list gives: *Cirāna u Seni*[*li*?], *u Makali, u Naṃdaki, Namaubudi, Sanīraki, Brūnade, Ga<chauki>.*

These names are clearly of various origins. Those in the ending *-datti* are Indianised. Other names in *-datti* are frequent: *agnadatti, īysdatti, īradatti, upadatti, khāysadatti, khāhadatta, puñadatti, budadatti, bhadrradatti, ysamadattä, ysāḍadatti, vaṃdyadatti, vaśiradattä, vikrāntadattä, uṣṇādattä, viṣṇadattä, vismadattä, śādatti* (and *śāṃdati*), *samādratti, sāmadatti, sividattä, sūradatti, suhadatti.* Similarly names in *-dad* are in Tibetan documents: *'in-dad, khrom-śe-dad, vi-dad, śir-dad, sa-bdad, sav-dad, sur-dad.*

Is there perhaps a basic indigenous set of names surviving from before the Saka invasion and settlement? Such could be the names *Ṣanīrä, Ṣirphūki, Mādāśa, Śihvartavaṃnä, Yaṃniviḍti, Yseviti, Hvrrīviḍti* as earlier proposed in KT 4.9. Possibly Iranian analysis will claim some of these. The colophon of the Jātaka-stava has a long list of names of relatives and friends. It was ordered by *Cā Kīmä-śanä.* His father is *Cā Pina* the *pūhyä*[19] (Chinese 僕射 *pu-ie,* from *puḷäk*); his mother *Hūmāṃ,* father's brother *Cā Ttaiha-tcainä Kharūṣa*; his wife *Kīma-hva,* his daughter *Rūpājīva,* his daughter *Jvālakya,* his brother the *tripiṭaka Sīdyakavarrda,* the *tripiṭaka Darmajña,* and (added to the base) his sister *Sūraimaittra.* Another rich colophon is in N 164, Jñānolkā: ordered by *Tamaksana,* the lady wife *Mahāttuñä,* his brother the teacher (*ācārya-*) *Vidyabhadra-,* his brother the elder in the community (*saṃgāṣṭira-*) *Abaya-,* his sister *Dūvaki,* his sister *Vauttaki,* husband *Vaṣiradatti,* son *Vaṣirasaṃga-,* daughter *Vidyauttamä.*

The daughter of *Hphrom Gesar* called *Huroṅga* seems to have an Iranian name *hurangā-* 'of fine colour' (the initial laryngal for the Iranian *h-*), as *gauna-* occurs also in the ancient Iranian name 'Ροδογούνη 'of rose colour' (with the Greek spelling *hrodo-* for Iranian *varda-* 'rose').

To distinguish more surely the owners of names, toponyms in adjectival form often precede the name. Thus there occur: *khanarāña, khaukūlāña, ttulajsäkāña, dumesalāña, phaṃñaspāñi, phaṣupāḍañāña, bikināña, buttakāña, mattiśkāña, ysāḍāña, viṃgulāña, śirgulāña, sakāña, sarvañāña, sāmanyāña, sūpīyāña,* (. .)*sūlyāña, suhīkāña, spāni, spāña.* Probably also here belongs Tibetan *'a-ti-ko-ña.* All these place-names are unidentified. This same suffix *-ā-, -āña-* occurs in the names of *vihāra-*colleges founded by kings and queens of Khotan in the list transmitted in Tibetan (with *-o-* usually for the Khotan Saka *-ā-*). Thus *khye-śo-no,* a *vihāra* named after *khyeśa* 'Kāšγar'; *'er-mo-no* from *Erma-* (Köke-nagur region); *'okano* from *'osku,* in Khotan Saka *āskvīra-.*

In Tumšuq Saka texts there are the following names: *aśri* (teacher, *ācārya-*) *Kṣemayaśā, Sāngyeraxšeñca, Satyaǵazā ṣe* 'son', *Khaṣina, Wimalayeśi, Wirawardenā, Bāǵa, Śidgeñca, Wānāri, Ciyāna, Brika, Xšanda, Wija*[*ya*], *Gardumuñca, Ñānayeśi, Arudzeñca ṣe* 'son', *Briyalka, Kraṇḍiga ṣe* 'son', *Maḍraṅginā, Menano ṣe* 'son', *Aśḷañye, Iphatka, Celi, Dzātsi, Targañi, Dharmadāsa, Puñamo, Rulāṅgi, Vajradaṇḍa, Wāsudeva, Señcu, Supriyāpuri, Smaśira, Hvardumaya, Ṣabire, Pragyame*(*r*)*ye,* and others.

All these names must eventually be seriously examined. Apart from the Buddhist names, the interpretation is difficult.

This then can be said of the background of life in Khotan: a monarchy, with courtiers to whom the archaic *Visas puθrāh* title still applies, but with

foreign royal titles such as *Amātya-, Deva-* beside the indigenous *rrund-* 'king' and *gyasta-* 'god'; the princes sharing the ancient title *kavi-* with the *ārya-*monks; flourishing estates and agriculture. The *vihāra-*colleges were a centre of active literary life, the copying of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts and translation and adaption of Indian poetry and philosophy; the *ārya-*monks were staging great festivals supported by the royal Court. All this discloses an eager urban civilisation which the overall suzerainty of the Chinese and for a period the Tibetans did not destroy.

The Chinese pilgrims from the fifth century reported the enthusiastic religious cults; that was Indian and Buddhist. But before the coming of Buddhism older Iranian beliefs had dominated. Of these older beliefs the Buddhist texts retain some traces of concepts which could be taken over into the Khotanese Buddhism.

Just as the old concept of the Sons of the House (*bäsī-viraa-*) with the titles *rris-pūra-* and *rriysdutar-*, and *rrīṇā* 'princes, princesses and queen' retained the old social distinctions, so the old name of the World Mountain, which was in the Avesta *Harā, Harā bərəz, Harā bərəzaitī* and *Haraiti-*, survives as *Haraysa-, Haräysa-*, even the old phrase *ttaira haraysä* occurs. This *Haraysa* is identified with the Buddhist World Mountain *Meru, Sumeru,* Pali *Sineru.* Thus the text (KT 2.102.28) has *ākāśa-maṇḍäla haräysa vī ggisadai* 'revolving on Mount Haraysa in the circle of the sky' and KT 2.103.58 *Sūmīra gärānä rāṃda ttairä haraysä baidä* 'upon Mount Sumeru the king of mountains the peak of the *Harā bṛz*'. It is to be noted that the word *ttaira* has the form of Old Iranian *taira-* (Avestan *taēra-*) and not undergone the usual change of the diphtong *-ai-* to *-ī-* in normal words.

Belonging to the religious world is the name *Śśandrāmatā-* used in Khotan Saka Buddhist texts to render the *mahādevī* 'great goddess' *Śrī* who promises good fortune. It is a compound in archaic order of noun with sequent adjective *śśanda-* and *ārmati-*, corresponding to Avestan *spənta ārmaitiš.* The word Avestan *ārmati-* occurs also in the plural *ārmatayō.* The West Iranian form *santa-* is preserved in the Cappadocian month name Σονδαρα and in the Armenian loan-word *sandaramet-k'* in the Old Testament translation for Greek γῆ κάτω, ἄδυτον, and the adjective *sandarametakan* καταχθόνιος and *sandarametayin* χθόνιος; *sandarameta-pet* 'lord of the underworld'. The north-western form is in Armenian *spandaramet* Διόνυσος. The word is also used of the surface of the earth in T'omay Arcrouni *erkir pandoki spandaramet astoucoy* 'the earth is the inn (πανδοχεῖον) of the deity *Spandaramet'*. This is the form *spandārmat* in Zor. Pahlavī in the phrase *spandārmat zamīk* 'the earth' and in the passage *ut-š spandārmat pat zanīh xvāst* 'and he (*Frāsyāp*) asked *Spandārmat* in

marriage'.[20] The 5th day of the month *Spandārmat* is associated with the earth: *spandārmat rōč varz ī zamīk kunēh* 'on the day *Spandārmat* one should cultivate the earth'. In the allotment of the world, *Spandārmat* takes the material earth *spandārmat . . . gētīk zamīk xvēš.* Similarly in the conferences of Zoroaster *Spandārmat*'s visible symbol (*gētīk daxšak*) was the *zamīk* 'earth'. Sogdian had *z'yy spnd'rmt,* Chorasmian *z'yy 'sbnd'rmd* for 'earth'. The 12th month was in Sogdian *'spnt'rmt, 'sp'nt'rmt* and *spnd'rmt, spnd'rmd,* as in Avestan *spənta ārmaiti-* and New Persian *isfandārmud.* The form *śśandrāmatā-* has two important features, the replacement of *-ār-* by *-rā-* (rather like *grāma-* beside *garma-* 'hot' in compounds), and the *-ā-* stem in place of *-i-*, as often.

The ancient sacred word *śśanda-* occurs also in Khotan Saka *ysama-śśandaa-* (sing. *-ai,* plural *-ā-*) 'world' rendering Bud. Skt. *loka-*. Hence this is from *zam* and *śṷantā.* The word *śśandaa-* occurs also in Z 14.14 as a sacred place where there are images of Buddha. As a feminine noun *śśandā-* means 'earth'. Once the word *śadāṃva-* in a compound may have been changed from *śaṃdāva-* 'sacred', in the passage KT 2.202.30 *śadāṃva-ttīśa* 'having sacred splendour' with *ttīśa-* from Bud. Skt. *tejas-*. The word likely to be the same in Old Indian is Rigvedic *śvānta-*.

It has been pointed out in treating of Nature that the name of the highest god *Ahura mazdā* has been used with a suffix of dependency to serve in *urmaysdān-* for the sun in the sky.

The Khotan Saka word *balysa-*, Tumšuq Saka *bārsa-*, later *bārza-*, was used to express the name of the Buddha. Interpreting the word *buddha-* the Khotan Saka had *vamas-*, a word indicating 'realisation', hence some mental concept. The same *balysa-* is used in Z 13.111 in the phrase *balysä bajāṣṣä* to render Buddhist Sanskrit *brahma-* in the compound *brahmasvara-*, the *brahman-*voice of the Buddha. Since *barz-* and *braz-* can safely be traced to the same base as Old Persian *brazmaniya-*, Old Indian *bráhman-*, and agent *brahmán-* also can be brought in here. It was a word meaning supernatural knowledge expressed in formulae and at first probably always in verse. The Buddhists held that the word *brahman* was full of mystic power in their vocabulary of sacred things. They had also developed a *deva-* called *Mahābrāhmaṇa-*, which is found later in Khotan Saka Buddhist contexts as *Brahmāṇa-*.

The ancient word *yaz-* continued to serve for 'worship': *gyaysna-* (*yazna-*) with *-zn-* kept, the more archaic form than the Avestan *yasna-*, but like the Aramaic Persian *yzn* **yazna-*, where Zor. Pahlavī had moved to *yašn* and New Persian to *ǰašn.* With suffix *-ata-* of passive sense, *yazata-* survived as Khotan Saka *gyasta-, jasta-*, and Tumšuq Saka *jezda-*, and later

New Persian *īzad* and Ossetic Digoron *izäd*, Iron *zäd*. This *gyasta-* rendered Bud. Skt. *deva-*. The 'demon' was called in Khotan Saka *dyūva-* (by the usual change of *aiu* to *īu*, to *yū*), the Old Persian *daiva-*, New Persian *dēv*. Ossetic has *deu* in *ävdeu*, Iron *ävdiu*, the epithet of an 'evil spirit'.

Two words for 'divine son' are attested in Khotan Saka in Buddhist contexts for *deva-putra*.[21] These are *gyasta-vura-* and *gyastaṣṣaa-*, *jastaṣṣaa-* with *-vura-* from *puθra-* and the suffix *-aṣṣaa-*. In Sogdian Buddhist there is *βγ-pδr-* in a Buddhist context and *βγ-p'wr* for 'prince'. Turfan Parthian has *bg-pwhr*, plural *bg-pwhr'n* in religious use.

But *deva-putra-* was also an imperial title of the Kušans. In the Seṇavarma inscription, line 8 *maharaja rayatiraya kuyula kataphśa-putra sadaṣkaṇo deva-putra* 'the son of the Great King, King of Kings, Kuyula Kataphśa, Sadaṣkaṇo the *deva-putra*'. In the Surx Kotal inscription line 7 there is the title *bagopouro*.

In West Iran, Armenian has the loan-word *čen bakour* 'China, Son of Heaven', to which corresponds New Persian (Sogdian loan-word) *faγ-fūr*.

The word *gyasta-* is found also in another compound: *gyasta-kṣīra-*, *jasta-kṣīra-* 'world of the *deva-*gods', rendering Bud. Skt. *deva-bhavana-*.

The word *kavi-* survived in Khotan Saka used in both a social and a religious sense. The word has a large history in ancient India, and is used of heroes in the Avesta. In Khotan Saka the *rrispūra-* 'princes' are called *kai*, plural *kā*, possibly 'heroic'. The same word is used of the *ārya-* monks in a passage condemning an enemy who acts against the *ārya-* (*āśgu baida*) and against the *kavi-* (*kau baida*). A second survival of *kavi-* was *kabi*. Thus (KBT 73.40) *kabi cū sākyi ḫacyāre jauna* 'a hero whose enemies are broken in fighting'. In later West Iranian *kai* and *kau* (and with suffixes) is fully attested. There is the phrase *kai vištāsp šāh* 'the prince the king Vištāsp'. In the Manichean texts *kav* renders Mani's giants.

The teacher, the Bud. Skt. *upādhyāya-* is called the *pīsai āṣī* 'the *ārya* teacher' which corresponds also to *ārya- ācārya-*. The word *ācārya-* itself was developed to *āṣirī*, plural *āṣarya*, *āṣärya*; Tumšuq Saka *aśri*, Uigur Turkish *ačari*, in Arabic (Al-Bairūnī) *'ǰ'rǰ* **āǰārǰ*. Still further reduced is the Manchu *śeli*. For the woman the Khotan Saka has *āṣīrkā-*, plural *āṣirkye*. The Chinese *aźali* renders the Prakrit. But once the Khotan Saka has the word *kṣī'a*, (KT 2.68.2) *āṣirī sureṃdra kṣī'a* (voc. sing.) in dyadic use with *āṣirī*. This is from **kaišika-*, in Sogdian *kyšyk* **kēšika-*, from *kaiš-* 'to teach'. The Saka word is also in Tokhara A *käṣṣi*, B *käṣṣĭ* and Uigur *kš'y*, *kšy*. The noun *kēš*, Avestan *ṯkaēša-* is kept in Turfan Persian *kyš*, *qyš*, and the verb *qyš-*; Armenian loan-word *k'ēš*. In Khotan Saka *-aiš-* before a long syllable lost the *ī* as in *jīṣḍi* 'it boils', participle *jiṣṭa-*, but causative *jṣḡña-*.

The archaic word *farnah-* (expressed in Aramaic by *gadd-ā* 'fortune') and Sogdian *frn* (rendered by Uigur Turkish *qut*) became the word used to refer to the positions or stages in the Buddhist career. It has the form *phārra-* in Khotan Saka, the usual change of *-arn-* to *-ārr-*. The loan-word Tokhara A *parn-*, B *perne* (which glosses Bud. Skt. *lakṣmī* and *pada-*) was used for the same four stages of the monk's life. It has not been traced in Khotan Saka in a primary sense. This sense of position (Bud. Skt. *pada-*) may explain the use of *phara-* in the personal name *Hora-murta-phara* in the Mathurā inscription, that is, 'he who holds the position of a patron (*dāna-pati-*)'. The Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī title *muroḍa-*, *muruṇḍa-*, *murṇḍä-*, *-murta-* are derivatives from *mrau-*: *mru-* 'to command' with normal changes from the participle **mruvat-*, *mruvant-*.[22]

One may trace archaic Iranian features in three other cases. Thus the Avestan writer in the Aogəmadaēča 58 has the phrase *aošaŋuhatąm mašyānąm* (**aušahvatām martyānām*) 'of mortal men' with *aušahvant-* 'liable to death' and *martya-* 'mortal'. Similarly the Khotan Saka word for 'man' is **huγand-* in the nom. sing. *huvę*, and *hvgnd-*, *hvę*, from **aušavant-* (with *uva-* from *-auša-* as in *gguγa-* 'ear' from *gauša-*) with prothetic *h-* as often. Hence **uva-vant-* to **huvgnd-*, *hvgnd-*.

A second word is Avestan *fraša-* 'conspicuous', and conspicuous par excellence 'wonderful'. This word is in Khotan Saka *pārṣṣa-* 'revered' through **farša-* (as *pharṣa-vatā-* 'judge' from *fraš-* 'to question'). It is also in *aurrta-* 'admired' from **ā-frašata-*, epithet in praise of *kīre* 'deeds'. The third word is *durauṣa-* 'exaltant' used of the lovers' drink, with Avestan *duraoša-* of the *haoma* intoxicant, Old Indian *duroṣa-*, as set out in the Dictionary of Khotan Saka.

A word of sacred association was *barg-* 'to offer', as in Avestan *bərəǰā* 'with offering', not found in the Old Indian tradition unless in the name *Bhṛgu-*. It is in constant use in the derivative Khotan Saka *orga*, *aurga* 'homage'.

At an early period the Khotan Saka and Tumšuq Saka peoples became enthusiastic Buddhists. They copied Bud. Skt. manuscripts and translated huge tomes. Khotan city was famous for Chinese scholars seeking Indian books. The Chinese pilgrim testifies to their high renown in Buddhist studies; and the list of their *vihāra*-colleges and their festivals, as noticed earlier, was impressive. It was no small intellectual feat to undertake to adapt their Saka Iranian language to translate Buddhist philosophical literature. The Buddhist sermons and tales were on the other hand well within the scope of an ordinary writer.

In Khotan the Mahāyāna eventually dominated, but according to the Tibetan Annals of Khotan there were 16 *vihāras* of the Mahāsānghika

school who wrote in Prakrit. At Kuci however the Mahāyāna had not gained. It was at Kuci that Hüan-tsang disputed with Mokṣagupta where the *Vibhāṣā* and *Abhidharma-kośa* were accepted, but the *Yoga-ācāra-bhūmi-śāstra* (the *Yoga-śāstra*) was rejected. The author Āryaśūra wrote of the Hīna-yāna that it was truly *hīna-* (*hīnam eva tat*). In Khotan the two inferior vehicles are named the *śrāvaka-yāna* and *pratyeka-buddha-yāna*; later too the *vajra-yāna* of extreme mysticism is found in Khotan and some short texts have survived. It was of interest to me that when I printed a brief translation of some *Vajrayāna* verses in the Wisconsin Journal of Buddhist Studies (1978, 53–56) a specialist in Tantra, Lokesh Chandra of Delhi, wrote me to ask for details and to express the wish for a fuller translation of the whole *Vajrayāna* text. My own interest had in fact been simply linguistic, since the vocabulary in these Buddhist texts tends to be largely Sanskritised (like Latinised English or Arabicised Persian).

Lists of the books studied in Khotan are found in the texts. One list (KT 3.100.9–10) reads *śvrrai u mālai ṣṭīka ttī jsā jāvā* 'treatise and formulae and prayers'; another list KT 2.3.37 *draya pīle sīyą śāstra ṭīkaka vībāṣą, abīdarma yāṃgaśāstrra hīṣṣṭai yāgasthauna* 'three canonical collections (*piṭaka-*), he had studied, the treatises, commentaries, the interpretation, the *abhidharma* philosophy, the mystic *yogaśāstra* he learned, the *yogasthāna* (commentary of the *Jñānaprasthāna*)'. This list is to praise Vimalaśīla.

The *bodhisattva* ideal is prominent in all Mahāyāna texts. In Khotan Saka, translated as *balysūñavūysai,* the word is analysed into its constituents *bgysūśtä kūṣe* 'he seeks *bodhi-* knowledge', more precise than a mechanical transferrence of *sattva-* 'being'.

The *prajñā-pāramitā* doctrines are represented by a translation, complete in 19 pages, in a later Khotan Saka stage of language containing a commentary on the *Hṛdaya-sūtra* with its famous essence, the 'seal' (*phīsūna-*) formula: *gate gate saṃgate pāragate pāra-saṃgate svāhā.* This text with its corresponding Sogdian rendering with a commentary was published long ago in BSOAS 13, 1951, 934–937. A translation into English of the *prajñā-pāramitā* text but with all the technical terms put into Sanskrit is now in print in the volume dedicated to the late Ed. Conze, the devoted specialist in the *Prajñā-pāramitā* literature.

The other *Prajñā-pāramitā* text, the *Vajra-cchedikā-sūtra* 'the treatise which cleaves like the thunderbolt' (to which translators have usually preferred to give the name The Diamond Text) is also in Khotan Saka with the notable addition that the final verses are elaborated into a verse to each concept. The partial Uigur text of the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* has been published by G. Hazai and P. Zieme in the Berliner Turfantexte 1, 1971.

A peculiar doctrine known from one Buddhist Sanskrit text the *Ratna-gotra-vibhāga,*[23] *uttaratantra,* and from Tibetan translations is that of the *tathāgata-garbha-*. A fragment of the Buddhist Sanskrit text was found in a Khotan manuscript and the whole text later found and edited (the fragment is in KT 5.237–239). This *gotra-*doctrine is taught in various allusions in Khotan Saka religious texts. The absence of any popularised form of the word *tathāgata* which a popular doctrine might have been expected to create, as of *Balo* in Tibet for the long name *Avalokiteśvara,* has just been disproved by finding the spelling *tadagada* in the Seṇavarma inscription.

The *dhāraṇī* of mnemonic syllables and some significant words is a choice form of latest Buddhist composition and naturally finds its place in Khotan Saka books. The *Sumukha-dhāraṇī* has been preserved complete, edited in KBT 1951, 135–143. In this book the supernatural beings of Buddhist belief each offer their protection in return for the recitation of their favourite *mantra-pada* formula in *dhāraṇī* form.

The *Vinaya* basis of *vihāra* discipline was well known but no text has been found in Khotan Saka, although Buddhist Sanskrit *Vinaya* texts are known from Central Asia. It was conceived as a disciplinary control of the senses 'the horses of the senses controlled by the *Vinaya* bridles', as in the poem Z 24.647 the *indriṇā . . . aśśa* and *vinatīnyau byānyau.*

To express in Khotan Saka the highly technical vocabulary of Buddhist religion and philosophy, the translators often took over the word of the Bud. Skt. texts. But they also developed their own Iranian terms. Hence the use of *balysa-* for *Buddha,* with several derivatives, especially the triple phrase *gyastānu gyastä balysä* 'Buddha god of gods'. The term *aysmū* rendered *vijñāna-,* as well as the simpler *manas-, citta-* and *cetana-*; *bvāmatā-* 'wakening' was a rendering for *bodhi-,* and for the realisation of *bodhi-*knowledge they had *vamasāmatā-*; *syāmatā-* for *saṃjñā-* 'notion'; *gūstya* 'loosing' for *nirvāṇa-* and *vimokṣa-*; *buysvāma* 'quenching' for *nirvāṇa-* (in the Manjuśrī text 55). The word *vauḍā* could serve to express *adhimukti-* 'devotion' from the base *vā-var-* 'to hold belief'. The base *vyach-* 'be devoted' was also available for the Bud. Skt. *adhimucyate.* The term *skandha-* 'mass' was rendered by *ṣkoṅgyā-* from *ṣkām-* 'to fashion, set together, build up'. The *tathāgata-* was translated by *ttāharā-tsūka-* 'going, moving rightly', and by *ttāhirau hvāñāka-* 'teaching rightly', but this fitting rather with *ttāharā-vyāraṇa-* the rendering of *tathā-vādī* 'rightly proclaiming'.

The Vajrayāna with its supreme being *Vajrasattva* exerted in Khotan its usual pervasive influence. There are several Vajrayāna texts in the Khotan Saka collection, not yet translated. One short text was partly rendered in the first volume of the Journal of the International Association of Buddhist

Studies (as was mentioned earlier) in 1978. There are various references to the doctrine. In KT 2.4.51–2 there is the Bhadanta (*thaiya ttīka*)[24] *Dairāha-sū* who is *draina pīlvā ṣadyāyą*: *vajrrāyāna sīvą* 'believer in the three canonical collections (*piṭaka-*), learned in the *Vajrayāna*'.

In the colophon to the Jātaka-stava the author shares his merit (*puña*) with all teachers (*ācārya-*) and householders (*gāṭhaa-*, from *gṛhastha-*) of the *Vajrayāna* faith. The doctrine of the rosary (*gaṇayitrī-*) is expounded in a full *Vajrayāna* sense, as the translation in the Kōyasan Memorial Volume shows.[25]

The mass of Buddhist literature known to the Khotan *ācārya*-teachers was large. Of it only a small part has survived. The list of attested texts is impressive. Here is a list: the long Book of *Zambasta* in 24 chapters covers a large part of Buddhist teachings. The *Vajracchedikā-sūtra*, the *Sumukha-dhāraṇī*, the *Bhadracaryā-deśanā*, the *Jātaka-stava-*, the *Bhadrakalpikā-sūtra*, and the *Prajñā-pāramitā* summary are all complete. Large parts of the *Saṃghāṭa-sūtra* and of the *Śūraṃgama-samādhi-sūtra* exist. There is a long text of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* and a summary of the *Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*. The *Aparimitāyuḥ-sūtra* is complete. There are many fragmentary pieces of other texts: a *Ratnadvīpa-* text, *Amṛta-prabhā* text, *Bhaiṣajya-vaiḍūrya-prabha-rāja-sūtra*. The *Avalokiteśvara-dhāraṇī* is almost complete. There is a short poem on the veneration of a *caitya*-shrine.[26] The *Rāma* and *Sītā* epic is retold in narrative verse. The *Aśoka* story of *Kunāla*, and the story of *Kaniṣka* and his *stūpa* and his friend *Aśagauṣa* have survived.[27] For medical knowledge apart from a few short extracts there is the almost complete text of the Siddhasāra of Ravigupta known also in the Tibetan version, and now in a recently found complete Sanskrit text, and the large medical text in which the Buddha instructs Jīvaka. (I have called it Jīvaka-pustaka.) The tale of Sudhana and kinnarī bride Manoharā is told in a long poem, its popularity shown by its presence in three manuscripts.[28]

The long lists of the supernatural world of Khotanese Buddhism were collected in the BSOAS 10, 1942, 886–924 from the various texts. It covered the whole of Buddhist mythopoeia. There were added a few purely non-Indian concepts. Here are *Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Devas, Nāgas, Devīs, Naivāsikas* and the reverence to *Sanghārāmas*, gardens of the Community, and of the *pratimā*-images. The Khotan legend of the first earth-suckled king is briefly mentioned. For Khotan the story of the eight *Bodhisattvas* who took up residence in the Khotan land is given in detail, both the names of the *Bodhisattvas* and the places of their settlement.[29]

Magic is admitted into the tales. Thus, in the story of Sudhana and

Manoharā there is an evil sorcerer (*sādhaka-*) sent to damage the *nāga*-dragon protecting the kingdom of king Dhana. The *sādhaka-* draws a spell in *maṇḍala*-circle form with his charms (*mantra-*) in the usual Indian way. In the tale of Rāma and Sītā the two brothers *Rāma* and *Raiṣmaṃ* before they go out hunting set a magic circle (*karā-*) around her and the demon *Daśagrīva* (*Rāvaṇa*) cannot cross this magic barrier (KT 2.68–69, 72–74; 82).

But the Khotan Saka word for magician stems from a very remote past. This word is *kauvāle* (for the Bud. Skt. *sādhaka-*) in which can be at once seen the base *kaub-* 'to offer sacrifice, to get power by supplication'. The word is thus from *kauba-* and *vālaa-*, like the *-vālaa-* in *mātṛ-vālaa-* 'worker with *manθra*-spells'. Hence here there is the dialect *vard-* 'to work' beside *varz-* 'to work', as there is *paḍe* 'axes' from **paratu-* beside Old Indian *paraśu-*. The base *kaub-* 'to use magic' is best preserved in North Iranian Ossetic, verbal Digoron *kovun, kuft*, Iron *kuvyn, kŭft* with further derivatives. Of this the only other trace can be seen in the Rigveda RV 5.52.12 *kubhanyávaḥ*, an epithet of the *Marútaḥ*. This had been well recognized by E. Benveniste.[30] In the Nartä tales Satana ascends the *kuvän k'ŭpp* 'the hill of the sacrifice' certain of the granting of her desire (NK 46.206). In the tale of Bolat-Xamić (Pam. 1.41) the women go out to the hill (*tuppurmä rāuādäncä*) and make offering (*mā iskuftoncä*). There is the *Närton kŭvd* and the *istur kuvditä, styr kuvd* 'great offering'.

Although the name of *Cayaṃ* occurs with the allusion to the earth's giving the child milk, there is so far no full legend, such as is known from the Tibetan text.[31]

The Khotan Saka language is not entirely isolated. On the first part of the mountain road leading from Kāšyar to Kaśmīr there live now in Wakhān (the Vokkāna- of earlier Buddhist texts) a people speaking a language, an Iranian dialect, which in phonetics and vocabulary shows the nearest connexion with Khotan Saka and Tumšuq Saka. In the Pamirs Ktēsias,[32] in the time of Artaxerxes II (404–358) wrote of Sakas in Rōš(n)ān: 'Ρωξανάκη ἡ πόλις ἔνθα Σάκαις τὸ βασίλειον ἦν 'Rōxanakē is the city (*polis*, not *kōmē*) where there was a royal site for the Sakas'. This Waxī, the language of Wakhān, has treated the conjunct consonants *śṷ-* through *-śś-* as *-š-*, so in *yaš* 'horse', Khotan Saka *aśśa-*; *išn, yīšn* 'iron', Khotan Saka *hiśśana-*; Waxī *šač* 'dog', Khotan Saka *śve, śśuvānä, śvānä*; Waxī *ījīn*, 'cushion', Khotan Saka *ījīnaa-* 'leathern' used of a cushion; the three animal names already mentioned Waxī *yukš* 'ibex', *drukš* 'bull', *vrokš* 'large sheep' to Khotan Saka *juṣḍa-, drauṣṣa-* and *purṣṣa-* with phonetic changes on both sides; Waxī *ẍan-*: *ẍat-* 'to speak' like Khotan Saka *hvan-*: *hvata-*

'speak', but elsewhere in Iranian *hvăn-* 'to sound, read'; Waxī *šönd* 'raven', Khotan Saka plural *ṣṣundä*, Ossetic Digoron *sunt*; Waxī *gawust* 'fist' is found elsewhere in Iranian only in Khotan Saka *ggośtä* 'hand' and outside only in Old Indian *gabhasti-*. Waxī has maintained intervocalic *k, p, t* which are changed to voiced in Khotan Saka. Note too in Waxī *pötr* 'son', Ossetic *furt* as against Khotan Saka *pūra-*; and Waxī *čəbūr* 'four', Ossetic *cuppar*, Khotan *tcahora*.

Of *Kančakī* in the villages around Kāšγar in the 11th century Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī has preserved 13 words. One *känbä* 'name of a plant' is like Sogdian *knp'* **känbä* and Khotan Saka *kuṃbā* 'flax', Chorasmian *knbynk* 'linen'.

If the name Saka is given the wide meaning of Achaemenian use, equivalent to Greek *Skuthai*, as the name for the whole North Iranian dialects, the Ossetic language of the Caucasus belongs with Khotan Saka. The two vocabularies Ossetic and Khotan Saka coincide in many points. Here may be quoted a selection from the 70 cases cited in the article in the Tsereteli Memorial Volume.[33] Thus Oss. Digoron *nom-dzud* 'famous' from *cäuun, cud* 'to go', Khotan Saka *nāma-tsuta-* 'famous' with the same two words, both from older **nāma-čyuta-*; Oss. Dig. *säuändon*, Iron *sondon* 'sulphur', Khot. Saka *svaṃdūṃ*; Oss. *k'äs* 'inner chamber', Khot. Saka *kasā-*, Old Indian *kaśas-*; Oss. *cäu* 'goat', Khot. Saka *caukala-* (with suffix *-kala-* as in *braukala-* 'brow'); Oss. Dig. *dor*, Iron *dūr* 'stone', Khot. Saka *dūra-* 'hard lump'; Oss. Dig. *findz, fij*, Iron *fyndz* 'point', Khot. Saka *piṃja-* 'point, breast'; Oss. Dig. *zārun* 'to sing', Khot. Saka *ysār-* 'sing (of birds)'; with Oss. Dig. *äxsärä* 'nut', Khot. Saka *ṣara-* 'nut, kernel'; Oss. Dig. *äsqod* 'secret', Khot. Saka *skoda*.

As a language Khotan Saka has evolved so far from the oldest known Iranian that one could set it, in comparison with Sogdian which in its oldest form has largely intact consonants, with French in comparison with Italian. As French has reduced Latin *centum* to *sã*, so Khotan Saka has kept *ssa, se* from older *sata-*, which is still in the older Khotan Saka language.

The scholars of Khotan made the language into a flexible instrument to cope with a foreign philosophy. In some Buddhist texts the influx of Sanskrit words was copious. But the language retained its Iranian grammar in nominal inflexion and verbal bases with the many preverbs. In its latest phase the old genitive plural has resulted in *-ā* from *-āṃ, -āni, -ānu*, Old Iranian *-ānām*, and by loss of the final vowel *-ä* or *-i* the resulting final consonant was often dropped. Thus *pharu, phara* 'much' became *pha*; *pātco, pātcu* 'after' became *pā*; the allative *-ālsto, -ālstu*, passed to *-āṣṭä*, to *-ā*; *aysu* 'I' became *a*. A combined writing like *kṣīr-myāña* (JS 5v4) 'in the

land'; *pāysvīrä* 'on the front' from *pāysu* and *vīra*; and *kūṣḍyī* 'at the mansion' beside *kūṣḍu vätä* show a recent loss of vowel, but such spellings are rare. An older orthography persisted.

It will have become clear that we can know a great deal about ancient Khotan between 300 and 1000 of our era. A modern traveller can pass through Khotan in ignorance of all this important past. But the kingdom of Khotan was not a state in isolation. It had neighbours due now to be cited.

The kingdom of Khotan was a small state with other small kingdoms to the west, of *Yarkand* (older called *Saka*) and *Kāšγar* and to the north of the Tarim Basin *Bharuka-, Hecyuka-, Kuci* and *Agni* (Karašahr). With these states of *Saka* and *Kančak* (*Kāšγar*) the Khotanese had at times hostile relations as the Chinese record from the 2nd century A.D. on reported.

Khotan was in contact with the greater countries. To the west the story of *Kaṇaiska-* (*Kaniṣka-*) mentions the name of *Bāhulaka-* 'Bactria' and *Ttahvārasthāna-* (*Tokhāristān*). The story begins in Buddhist Sanskrit: *Bāhūlaka-vaṣaye rājābhūttą cadra kaṇaiskä naumä* 'in the country of Bāhulaka there was a king (*rājā*) by name Cadra Kaṇaiska'. Then follows the translation: *Bāhulaka-vaṣayä ttahvārasthaima . . . käṇaiska nauma.*

Kāšγar occurs in an official document as *khyeṣvā kara* (KT 2.125.1).

Erma was the region Guzan of the Köke-nagur (Kokonor), the Green (Blue) Sea, where belonged the queen of king Bidzaya Bala, she who founded the *vihāra*-college *'Er-mo-no*. The name is found also in the official document (KT 2.63, F 1) *'erma-tsūkāṃ va hirä pajistādi* 'they demanded the property (money) for the travellers to Erma' and in the Geographical text (KT 2.73.23) *'ermvā bisā kaṃtha* 'the city situated among the Ermas'. The place was identified by R. A. Stein, Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet, 1959, 293.

From the Buddhist Sanskrit source and from Chinese the name of a *Bharuka-rājā* of *Aqsu*, and *Hecyuka-rājā* of *Ùč* (*Turfan*) are known.[34] The same Sanskrit source has also a *Saka-rājā* probably *Yar-kand*.

Tibet is frequently mentioned. The bilingual text of the traveller's notebook in KT 3.123.59 has *ttąḫatta* for Bud. Skt. *bauṭa* (Indian *bhoṭa*). The *ḫa* with subscript hook indicates the fricative *-γ-*, which can also be written with *-g-*, hence the more usual spelling *ttāgutta-*. The *-ā-* is for a foreign *-o-*. Variation between *-β-* and *-γ-* is found in various places. One good Asiatic case is *Zābul* rendered by Old Indian *Jāguḍa-* (**zāγula-*). In a Tibetan source there is *su-gar-na* for the Bud. Skt. *suvarṇa*.[35] It seems possible that the plant name *buvāṃ ttīrai* (Sid. 144r4) rendering the Tibetan *śiṅ-tog kośa* may contain an ethnic name (just as the name *ciṃgāṃ ttīrai* and *cegāṃ*

ttīrai) 'the bitter plant of the buva-' like 'bitter plant of the Chinese' for Bud. Skt. *nimba-*, azadirachta indica. Then in *buva-* could be seen the other form of the Tibetan name direct from Tibetan *bod*, beside *bon*.

The kingdom of Kuci is probably once named as *akuśī* with the same initial *a-* which occurs in the Turfan Persian name *'kwč-* in the adjective *'kwčyk 'Akučĭk'*, in the title[36] Mahnāmag 72. There is also the Bud. Skt. *kaucya-*, *kuceya-*.

The city of Argi, in the local Bud. Skt. *Agni-* with adjective *āgneya-*, occurs in Khotan Saka *argīñvā bisā kaṃtha* 'the city among the Argīnas' (KT 2,73. 22–23). The name is Iranian *arka-* and *arga-* 'fortified place' to the base *ark-*, *arg-*. The Prakrit *angi-* is attested in the Chinese *ien-k'i* from *iän-g'ji*, whence the Bud. Skt. *agni-* was formed, as Prakrit *aṃggä-* 'fire' found in Khotan Saka loan-word *aṃggä-śālā* 'fire-room' from *agni-śālā*. The Chinese signs are 焉耆 (K 243, *ien* < *'i̯än, jiän*; K 340 *k', g'ji*). The suffix *-īna-* in *argīna-* is found also in Bud. Skt. *kucīna-* for Kuci.

The city names of *Tturpaṃni*, *Ṣacū*, *Sīcū*, *Ṣecū*, *Kamäcū*, and *Leṃcū* occur in the documents. The Geographical text in KT 2.72–75 is particularly valuable.

The Turks are very prominent, posing evidently a threat to the continued kingdoms of the Tarim Basin. The name is once written *ttūrka-*, but elsewhere is *ttrūka-*.[37]

China itself is called *ciṃga-* from the old dynastic name in Iranian form from older **cīnaka-*. Two adjective forms occur: *ciṃgāna-* and *ceṃgāna-*.

Among the enemies listed by a poet cited earlier are the *Supīya*. These are the *Sum-pa* of Tibetan texts dwelling to the south-east of Khotan.

The *Huna* are counted among the devastators of Khotan. But they occur also in the official correspondence.

The name of the *Svarṇagotra-*[38] occurs only in the name of the perfume nard.

A remote region to the northeast of Throana (Tun-huang) with which unexpectedly the Court of Khotan was in diplomatic contact was that of the Huang-xo, Yellow River. In the document KT 2.87–92 lines 45 and 91 the city *Ḍi-ttū kīthi* of the *Śahvāṃ*: district is *Ling* with *tu* 'city' (Chinese 靈 and 都 K 561, 1187 *ling, tu* from *lieng, tuo*). Śahvāṃ: is *Ṣuo-fang* (K 926,25 朔方 *såk-piwang*); the spellings are also KT 2.95.71 *śahvā*; KT 2.73.16 *śāhvā*.

The *Hara* country, called KT 2.121.221 *hara-kṣīra-*; KT 120.197 both *hara* and *ha*, is in the Huang-xo region corresponding to ancient Chinese 夏 K 136 *hia* from *γa*, but here with the indication of a final consonant. It is perhaps also the *hgirī kītha* of KT 2.98.156. A similar final consonant is

present in Khotan Saka *pīra* 'nose' for Chinese *pi* (Grammata serica recensa 521 c *b'iəd-b'ji-pi*) in KT 2.1.11. A similar case of an archaic final consonant is found in the geographical name *Lükčün* in Khotan Saka *ḍūkä-cū* (twice in Kt 2.73.19), Turkish Uigur *üč lükčün balïq* for Chinese 柳中 K 254, 1269 *liu-ṭṣung* from *li̯ə̯u-t'i̯ung*, Grammata serica recensa 1114 1 *li̯ôg-li̯ə̯u-liu*. Here in both Uigur and Khotan Saka the *-k-* is preserved.

The name *buhä:thu̯* (KT 2.91.118) and *būhattā*: (KT 3.100.17) is also to be identified with Chinese *Wu* (*U*) on the Huang-xo. This is in the double name *Ling-u* (K 561, 1283 *ling-u* from *lieng-mi̯u*, Grammata serica recensa 104 a *mi̯wo — miu — wu*), but without final consonant, which is in Khotan Saka *buhä:*. Here *thuṃ* is for *tu* 'city', Chinese 都 *tu* from *tuo* (K 1187) as *ttū̆* in *ḍi-ttū*, and *ḍi-ttu*.

Some of these names will be concerned in the fifth chapter.

Notes

1. The title *dheva* in Kharoṣṭhī inscription 661 (for *deva*) is like the later KT 5.273, no. 587 *miḍāṃ gyastä hvani mistä rruṃdānu rre viśya Vikrraṃ* 'the bounteous god the great king of kings of Hvana (Khotan) Viśya Vikrama'. KT 2.103.61 *miḍāṃ jästä śrī viṣa sagrāma* 'the bounteous god honoured Viṣa Saṃgrāma'.

2. Tibetan Annals of Khotan, edited F. W. Thomas, Tibetan Literary Texts I and R. E. Emmerick, Tibetan texts concerning Khotan, London Oriental Series 19, 1967.

3. Folio 611 in KT 5. 91–92.

4. The forms of this name *pūstya* are in the Dictionary of Khotan Saka 247.

5. The rolls are at times on stout Chinese paper.

6. The word *tvārā-*, loc. sing. *tvera,* is from *ati-bār-* 'to carry over'.

7. The Manjuśrī text is the Manjuśrī-nairātmya-avatāra-sūtra, KBT 113–135.

8. For this base *hvar-*, see Studies in Greek, Italic, and Indo-European Linguistics, offered to Leonard R. Palmer, 1976, 29–31.

9. For the coins, M. Aurel Stein, Ancient Khotan 204. and F. W. Thomas, Numismatic Chronicle, 6th series, IV, 1944. For the Kušan coins, see J. M. Rosenfield, Dynastic Arts of the Kushans, 1967.

10. A short paper, Music in ancient Khotan, Bulletin of the Iranian Culture Foundation I, part 2, 1973, 41–46.

11. The battle scene in the Rāma epic story, KT 3.72, 156–157.

12. The love-story is in KT 3.105–106.

13. The Seṇavarma inscription in private possession is published in the JRAS, 1980. Seṇavarma is *ṇavhapati* and *Oḍi-raja,* where Oḍi is probably Oḍḍiyāna. The title is Iranian **nāfa-pati-* 'chief of the people', Armenian loan-word *nahapet* 'prince, patriarch'; to Sogdian *n'β* 'people', Jász-Hungarian *nép* 'people' (*ē,* Iranian *ā*).

14. Maitreya-vyākaraṇa, edited S. Lévi, Mélanges Linossier II, 1932, 355–402; and P. S. Majumder, Ārya Maitreya-vyākaraṇam, 1959.

15. Fragments of the Śakra-praśna-sūtra in Buddhist Sanskrit are edited by E. Waldschmidt, Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte IV, 1932, 58–113.

16. On Bäzäklik, see H. Lüders, Indologica Indica, 1940, 255–274.

17. For *vi janavi* 'the land Vi', see SDTV 70–73. Chinese names of the kings of Khotan are collected by T. Inokuci. See KT 4.7, note 5.

18. This letter is edited with translation in KT 4.25.

19. The *pūhyä* was a vice-president, see BSOAS 13, 1950, 408.

20. The references to *śśandrāmata* are treated in the Festschrift für Eilers, 1967, 136–143.

21. In the Seṇavarma inscription there is the reference to *Sadaṣkaṇo deva-putra.* In the Kharoṣṭhī inscription edited S. Konow, no. 27, p. 77 the full titulatur occurs *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa*; see also his Introduction 162–163.

22. For *hora-* in the inscriptions, see H. Lüders, Die Śakas und die 'nordarische' Sprache, 1913; H. Lüders and K. L.Janert, Mathurā inscriptions, 1961. H. Humbach, Die Sprache 22, 1976, 36–39 has chosen the other meaning of *phara-*.

23. The *Tathāgata-garbha* doctrine is set out in D. S. Ruegg, La théorie du Tathāgatagarbha et du gotra, BEFEO 70, 1968; Le traité du Tathāgatagarbha de Bu ston Rin chen grub, BEFEO 88, 1973; and J. Takasaki, A study of the Ratnagotravibhāga, 1966. There is a long review of the two books of Ruegg in JAOS 99, 1979, 152–160 by G. Roth.

24. The Chinese大德4K 952,981 *ta-tə* from *t'ai-tək* 'of great virtue' served for the Bud. Skt. *bhadanta-*.

25. Studies in Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism, Kōyasan University, 1965.

26. Buddhist studies in honour of I. B. Horner, 1974.

27. The *Kaṇaiska* text is in JRAS 1942, 14–28; edited in KT 2.107–108.

28. The *Sudhana* text is translated in BSOAS 29, 1966, 506–532.

29. The Bodhisattvas' abodes are set out in BSOAS 10, 1942, 910–911.

30. E. Benveniste, Études sur la langue ossète, 1959, 12–13.

31. *Cayaṃ* is quoted in BSOAS 10, 1942, 919. See note 2 above.

32. Ktēsias, apud Nikolaos Damaskēnos 6. See also S. Konow, Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, 1929, xvii. For Vokkāna- see S. Lévi, JA 1933. 27ff.; and G. Morgenstierne, Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages II 433. In Waxī there is *Wuxˇ* 'Wakhān'; *Xˇīk* 'Waxī language' from *waxšu-*. Old Indian *Vokkāna-, Bhokkāna-* and Arabic Auxān.

33. Philologia orientalis IV, 1976, in memory of G. V. Tsereteli, 34–39.

34. These royal names are in H. Lüders, Zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans, and P. Pelliot, T'oung Pao 22, 126ff.

35. For Tibetan spelling *su-gar-na,* see BSOAS 10, 1940, 913.

36. F.W.K. Müller, Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrnâmag), 1913, line 72 and note p. 31. The Chinese title was not then recognised.

37. The isolated *ttūrka-* is in KT 2.92.122.

38. The place *Suvarṇagotra* occurs in the list of Yakṣa- edited by S. Lévi, JA 1915, 1.120; it is also in the Memorial to S. Lévi on Alexandria 422. The word in Khotan Saka is KT 1.173, 91rl *svarṇagūttaryāṃga būśaunīṃ*; KT 1.149, 58v4 and 60v1–2 *svarṇagūttaryāṃ būśānai*; KT 1.189,110v5 *svarṇagūttariṃ būśānīṃ*; KT 1.187,106rl *svarṇagūttaryāṃga būśānīṃ*; and KT 1.185,105vl *svarnagūttaryāṃga būśānīṃ* (with dental *-n-*). All these phrases translate Bud. Skt. *nalada-* 'nard.' See BSOAS 10, 1940, 602.

39. Turkish Uigur *üč lükčün balïq* is in the colophon CLXIX 003 (facsimile in M. Aurel Stein, Serindia CLXV).

Chapter 4

A Survey of Excerpted Texts of Khotanese Literature

It is now time to look at the written materials which have been recovered after a thousand years' neglect. Once the Turks had made the Tarim Basin into Turkestan of the Turks, the earlier Irano-Indian culture vanished. The libraries perished. It imports now to see what has been salvaged.

First should come an examination of the scripts in which these kingdoms of the Śītā River, this Tarim Basin, could record their documents of ordinary business and their more recondite books.

One *Kharoṣṭhī* document (661) has been found dated by the reign of a Great King, a *Mahārāja* of Khotana. This script was the official administrative script used in all spheres in Kroraina around (we may say) 300 A.D.

The history of this script is now fairly well known. It is based upon the Aramaic of the Achaemenian Persian empire, familiar to us from the time of Dareiaios, in Latin Darius, on whose tomb Aramaic script is inscribed whether in Persian or Aramaic language. The word ALP 'one thousand' does in fact occur in the Kharoṣṭhī script as a numerical ideogram.[1] Beside it the numerical symbol for one hundred is the Aramaic letter M, the first letter of the Aramaic word for '100', namely *m'h* **mə'āh*, the Syrian *m"* **m'ā*. The form of the symbol in the Taxila Kharoṣṭhī is identical with the form of this numerical symbol in the Aršāma letter no. 8. It is 𐨷.[2]

But adapted to an Indian Prakrit, the North-West Prakrit of Gandhāra, the script of 22 Aramaic signs was evidently quite inadequate. North-western Prakrit had sibilants (*s ś ṣ z ż ʒ*), as in the modern Dardic Ṣiṇā language. The Aramaic script could offer only three *s ś z*. Prakrit had also 5 fricatives *č čh ǰ ǰh čh*. There were also differences of *k kh, g gh, d dh, t th, p, ph* and retroflex *ḍ ḍh ṭ ṭh ṇ*. New signs were therefore created. It was also necessary to conjoin consonants into groups as *st, sth, sp, tr, dr, rd,* and others. Long and short vowels are important in an Indian Prakrit. In the latest Kharoṣṭhī a long *ā ī ū* could be indicated by a hook below a syllable and the hook could also show *ai* from *e*.

The Kharoṣṭhī is found on Aśoka inscriptions from northwest ancient

India. It is found on northwest Indian coins, sometimes with Greek script on the same coin. From the Kingdom of Kroraina almost 800 written documents have been recovered in Kharoṣṭhī script of around 300 A.D.[3] The texts are mainly administrative documents. But a small amount of Buddhist Sanskrit has been found in no. 511. The only large literary text is a devotional poem called in the manuscript itself *Dharmapada* in north-western Prakrit in this script. An excellent edition of the extant parts of this manuscript has been published in J. Brough, The Gāndhārī Dharmapada, 1962.

Inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī script of the last three centuries before our era and for 400 years after have been found in northwestern ancient India. Sten Konow in 1929 published,[4] apart from those of Aśoka, all the complete and fragmentary inscriptions known to him. New discoveries are frequently being made. In 1978 six new pieces were brought to my notice. Some small pieces were found by Kiefer and are in the hands of J. Brough. One large inscription in 14 lines and with over 100 syllables (*akṣara*) to a line, now in private possession, was sent to me to read in December 1978. It is an inscription set up to commemorate a *stūpa* monument called *Eka-kūṭa* (*eka-kuḍa, eka-'uḍa*) 'One-peaked' by a king Seṇavarma[5] king of Oḍi with title *iśpara* (*īśvara*) 'lord' and *ṇavhapati* 'prince' ('the lord of a *nāfa-*'), the Iranian for 'people' as in Sogdian *n'f* **nāfa-*. Among the persons to be honoured by this act of worship is the *maharaja rayatiraya kuyula kataphśa-putra sadaṣkaṇo devaputra,* that is, *Sadaṣkaṇo* the *devaputra* ('divine son', an Imperial title) son of the Great King, King of Kings, *Kuyula Kataphśa,* who is the Emperor *Kujula Katphiśa* of the Kušān coins.[6] This would date the inscription in the first century of our era, but the precise date must await agreement on the accession year of *Kaniṣka,* whether in 78 A.D. or 128 A.D.

The name *Kharoṣṭhī* or *Kharoṣṭrī* is of disputed connexions. The *khara-* could be the Prakrit word from a foreign (Iranian) *xšahra-* or *xšara-* from older *xšaθra-* 'empire' which is *khaha-* in the title *Khaharāta,* beside the older *kṣatra-* in the Prakrit *kṣatrapa-* 'satrap' in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. An ancient astronomer is called in an Armenian text *K'saroustr* (the *k's-* prove that it is derived from a Greek text) corresponding to the Buddhist Sanskrit name *Kharuṣṭa,* also the name of an astronomer; here again *k's-* for Iranian *xš-* corresponds to North-West Prakrit *kh-*.[7] Within Indian words in North-West Prakrit *kṣ-* is represented by a new Kharoṣṭhī sign ᛉ read either as *ċh* (that is, retroflex *čh-*), or as *kṣ-*. In the Kroraina documents it has often a stroke written above it. If one adopts here *khara-* from *xšaθra-* the compound name for the writing may be *xšaθra-pištra* 'imperial writing' for the script (Avestan *pištra-* 'writing'), and *xšaθra-pištar-* for the man's

name. The use of *xšaθra-* would be like the later Sasanian use of *ērān-* before official titles as in *ērān-durust-baδ* 'State physician', *ērān-spahpat* 'State captain' and *ērān-dipīrpat* 'State secretary'.

Apart from this one document dated in the time of *khotana maharaya rayatiraya hinajha dheva vij'ida siṃhasya* 'of the Great King of Khotana, King of Kings, Commander (Khotan Saka *hīnāysa-*), the god (*deva*), Vijita Siṃha', the documents from Khotan are in the Brāhmī script similar to the script on the Gupta inscriptions in India or the South-East early Malay inscription on the Island of Banka of the 6th century. But within the Śītā region of the Tarim Basin this script tended to be modified into a very cursive form. By a misfortune there was no medial symbol for *-a-*, so that each syllable was held to possess an inherent *-a-* (as *ka, ta* and the rest); and to indicate the absence of this *-a-* between two consonants the consonants were joined. Thus to write *kalpa-* the *-l-* and the *-p-* were joined to show *-lp-*. A new sign was thus created. Thus in Indian to write the word *kārtsnyam*[8] 'entirety' five consonants had to be written together to indicate the absence of *-a-*. Conjunct consonants are exceedingly common and in an unknown language can cause difficulty in reading. In some forms of the Brāhmī script, as in the older almost uncial type, the separate letters can be seen in juncture, but in the later cursive there are actual new groups of signs. As each consonant loses its distinctness, it requires long practice to read these syllables fluently.

A second disadvantage of using the Indian Brāhmī script for Iranian was the absence of signs for many sounds peculiar to Iranian. Khotan Saka needed to distinguish six sibilants (*s ś ṣ z ź ẓ*) and needed two more vowel signs (*ä, ei*). They had *f θ x* and for those they used the aspirates *ph, th, kh*. To express the sibilants the Khotan Saka used two systems: one, the older, used *śś* for *ś*, and *ś* for *ź*; *ṣṣ* for *ṣ*, *ṣ* for *ẓ*; and the later system used *ś* for *ś*, and *ʂ́* for *ź*; *ʂ* for *ṣ* and *ʂ̌* for *ẓ* (that is, a variety of small subscript hooks, indicated here by the suscribed curve). For *z* they used *ys*, for *dz* used *js*, for *ts* used *tc*, and for *tsy* used *ts*. There are other groups.

This Iranian difficulty was solved in a different way by the Tumšuq Saka scribes. They had (and indeed probably had invented) 12 new signs which are listed on a manuscript folio and partly found in use in Tumšuq manuscripts.[9] The languages of Agni and Kuci also created new, but different symbols. Turkish Uigur used *z*, but adopted *kk* for *q*.

To give some concept now of the written documents in Khotan Saka language, here is a selection in translation.

A letter edited in KT 4.25 from one *ācārya-*monk Viṣäbhadra to others expressing strong feelings of gratitude for assistance in travelling is written

to the learned doctors in the city of Phema (*phimāña kīṃtha*). It has the courtly language of high society.

> My teachers, my *kalyāṇa-mitra* (fair friends, advisors), abounding in measureless merits, good qualities and virtues, learned in the Buddhist Doctrine, resident in Phema city, skilled in all objects of cognition, holding up the sapiential light, maned lions of the Śākya tribe, sages of supreme knowledge like the sun descended on the mountain peaks, the *dvipiṭaka ācārya pramukha* (knowing the two canonical collections of texts, teacher, prior) Yaśaḥ-prajña; and the *tripiṭaka ācārya pramukha* Puṇya-mitra; the *pramukha tripiṭaka ācārya* Mitra-prajña; the *pramukha tripiṭaka ācārya* Nāgasthira; the *tripiṭaka ācārya* Bhadreśvara-mitra. At your feet reverently I submit my report. For me Viṣä-bhadra of Tcarma (*vihāra*?) my health is good, if the exalted bodies of my teachers the *kalyāṇa-mitras* are well. Here as a humble man with my forehead I worship, I do honour to your learned bodies, because you have condescended to act well towards me. I have not ceased even for a moment to serve the *pramukhas* (priors), the teachers. For my necessity you sent to me. You deigned to assist me well so that I have returned from afar. I do you exceeding (honour). May your virtuous eyes be surely towards me. In Mąhyāra . . . to those in Mąhyāra. Month Kaji (second spring month), 26th day, I have submitted the report.

The poem of the Buddha's acts of fortitude (*virśa-*) Jātaka-stava has a long metrical text of four-line strophes setting out the reverent attitude of the translating poet, but also a long colophon allotting merit to his friends.

Here is a selection from the verses.

> [Verse 2:] Though my senses (*indriya*) are now weak, mind uncontrolled, in trembling confusion, yet now I will recite all the praises there are, that it may serve mightily towards supreme knowledge (*bodhi-*). [Verse 4:] He was invited, bowing with faith in love, the Great *Tripiṭaka* in the *Sāmanyāna* community (*bhikṣu-saṃgha*) like *ācārya Deva,* skilled in poetic phrases like a fisherman in water. [Verse 5:] Deign to translate now, gracious one, in love of supreme knowledge (*bodhi-*), for the gaining of merits, on behalf of the Great King *Śrī Viśa Śūra,* so that diseases and calamities cease in the land. [Verses 7–10:] The queen, the princes and great ministers, the king's own attendants and intimates (*amātya-*), may they all be guarded by the Guardians (*paripālaka-*), the good, the lowly and the middle men in the land, may their life flourish, all trouble vanish. Apart from the waters of the Buddhist doctrine (*dharma-*) the fire of passion has no end, therefore exceeding exalted faith.

The colophon of this *Jātaka-stava* shares out the merit of the act: The Jātaka-stava, the chapter of the Buddha's wondrous deeds, *Cā Kīmä-śanä* ordered (or deigned) to write for the love of supreme knowledge (*bodhi-*). With this basis of meritorious good roots may the Emperor (*cakravartin-*), the holy lord (Chinese title *śai-kū* 聖君 *ṣəng-kün*) have a distinguished stage of life, a stage of eternal sovranty, a peculiar birth (*utpatti-*), an especial station (*sthāna-*). At present may the King of the Diamond-kingship have enjoyment (*prayoga-*) of long life; may he have great, eternal long life; may all the evil acts (*karman-*), accumulated through an age (*kalpa-*) vanish; may they deign to realise the all-supreme knowledge (*bodhi-*). The merits I share with my father *Padä-śānä,* the vice-president *Cā Pina,* may his stages of life be purified. May my mother *Hūmāṃ* have long life. These merits I share with my father's own brother *Cā Ttaiha-tcainä Kharūṣa* and with sons, daughters. This merit I share with my wife *Kīma-hva* and with my daughter *Rūpājīvā,* with my daughter *Jvālakyā,* with my brother the *Tripiṭaka Sīdyakavarrda,* with my own sister *Sūraimitrā,* with the *Tripiṭaka Dharmajñā,* with all *Vajrayāna* (Diamond Vehicle) teachers (*ācārya-*) and householders (*gāṭhaa-* from *gṛhastha-*). May all beings attain to the prophecy (*vyākaraṇa-*) of supreme knowledge (*bodhi-*). May I, *Cā Kīmäśanä* attain at once to success in the formulas (*mantra-*). May I realise supreme knowledge (*bodhi-*). Then follows the signature in Sogdian script *Kymš'n.*

Another revealing long colophon is in N 164:[10]

> This treatise the Lady *Tamaksana* ordered to write for her mother the Lady *Mahāttunä* who has gone to the other world (*paraloka-*). So may these merits be heaped for her, may there be a peculiar stage of life for her. These good roots of merits may I share with my father, and may I share with my brother the teacher (*ācārya-*) *Vidyabhadra,* with my brother *Saṃgaṣṭira* who has gone to the other world (*paraloka-*), with *Abaya,* with my sister *Dūvaki,* with my sister *Vauttaki,* with my husband *Vaśiradatti,* with my son *Vaśirasaṃga,* with my daughter *Vidyauttamä,* with all brothers and sisters, with all kinsmen and house-inmates, with all beings. I share with them and I ripen them to supreme knowledge (*bodhi-*).

The epilogue of the *Bhadrakalpikā-sūtra* reads as follows:

> The *Buddha-piṭaka-sūtra* is finished. What son of the Great House (for *kulaputra-*) or daughter of the Great House (for *kuladuhitar-*) there may be or teacher (*ācārya*) or woman teacher (*ācāryikā-*) or lay attendant (*upāsaka-*) or woman lay attendant (*upāsikā-*) who hears the names of these *deva* Buddhas or learns, reads or announces, orders to write, that person sets behind him imagination (*saṃkalpa-*)

and migration (*saṃsāra-*), and attains to the supreme knowledge (*bodhi-*), and in a second birth remembers births, does not at all go to *naraka-*hells, nor among ghosts (*preta-*) nor among animals. And he who had committed the sins of obstruction (*āvaraṇa-*), if he hears of these *deva* Buddhas, all perish for him.

The text continues with the usual Buddhist formalities.

There is always an uncertainty about the colophons which use the phrase *parste pīḍe*. The verb *pary-*: *parsta-* 'order' is the word of command (*parau*), but it is also used as an honorific verb 'to condescend, deign, be gracious'. Does *parste pīḍe* mean 'he ordered to write' or 'he condescended to write'? For the type of literature called *deśanā-* 'confession, profession' the doubt usually remains. But in one case the text KBT 151.47 *Cā Kīmäśana* has used a fuller phrase: *śųste u padaidai u pīḍai* 'I prepared and created and wrote'. This would seem support for *parste pīḍe* to mean 'he deigned to write'.

Under the name of Prince *Tcūṃ-ttehi* a long *deśanā* 'profession' is contained in KBT 62–66. A translation was offered to W. Norman Brown, Indological Studies, 1962, 18–24. At the end there is the usual assertion of the benefits to be gained by writing, learning, reciting or memorising this poem. Here only a short excerpt is printed to show the eloquent style of the prince. He signs himself (77r3) *aysa rraispūrrä* 'I the prince'.

> [Folio 82rl:] May I become their saviour through all births. May I be able to swim with skilled arms across the keen swift river of migration (*saṃsāra-*). Till supreme knowledge (*bodhi-*) is gained, may I not take birth where fears are persistent in the three places of perdition (*apāya-*), so that however through me beings may become disciplined (*vaineya-*). By reason of these my vows (*praṇidhāna-*) may I be born strong; may I be born in every birth male, high-born (*āysāta-*), acknowledging friendly acts, merciful, aiding others, within the *dharma-*law, with faith. May the gift of the thought upon the supreme knowledge (*bodhi-*) not depart. May the giving of worthy gifts (*dākṣiṇeya-*) not desert me. May I then not fall into the eight ill moments. May I not be born a woman nor an ignorant partisan (*pakṣai*). May I not, being a man, change. May I be complete, possessing all faculties. May I not at all have birth among the *Mleccha* barbarians, where men hold false heresies far from mercy.

The supplications continue. But the prince also makes offering of all the wealth he could conceive: standards, umbrellas, jewels, perfumes, elephants, horses, gardens, pools, trees and music of the five kinds.

The metrical preface to the translation of the medical text the Siddhasāra of Ravigupta reveals the forward-looking liberal attitude of the Khotan Court official class. A first translation is given in the volume dedicated to the late Hasan Taqizadeh, 1962, 31–38. Here is an excerpt:

> I come with reverence in love with faith in the *Triratna* (the three jewels, the *Buddha, Dharma, Saṃgha*). May the deities *Maheśvara* (and) *Brahmāna-* protect me, so that I may be able to translate this treatise according to its meaning, the *Siddhasāra-śāstra-* (treatise) which here is amid medicine like the head complete in all faculties, giving life manifestly, dispelling troubles, a *mahāsamudra* (ocean) of mercy for the unfavoured. This treatise (*śāstra-*) was in the Indian language. Then follows the commission: at this time there lived the Minister (*tcai-syāṃ*, Chinese宰相*tsai-siang*) by name *Paḍa-ttanä* (Tibetan *Dpal-brtan* 'firm in fortune'). He got this *śāstra-*treatise incomplete in Tibetan language. He wrote in a supplement so that it was complete; on his part he had no knowledge or skill to translate it. He with respect sent the treatise to the Court. The gracious god the king himself in mercy ordered to translate it fully from Tibetan, for future men who are ill . . . May they attain to supreme knowledge (*bodhi-*) as they desire.

An epic poem (KT 3.65–76) was made on the story of *Rāma* and *Sītā* in 265 manuscript lines, brief and poetic. It could be adapted to Buddhist sentiment by the final peroration: *aysä pātcä Śākyamunä sarvaṃña bgysä diśagraita rakṣaysä hā, bgysä pyatsa jsāṃnakya ṇḡstä . . . cu ma rrāmä pūnyāṃ baista* 'then I was Śākyamuni the omniscient Buddha. The demon (*rākṣasa*) placed himself before the Buddha bowing down . . . who had shot me Rāma with arrows.'

The following episodes will illustrate the brief style of the poem.

> Rāma slays his father's slayer Paraśu Rāma. Daśaratha caused the death of the old *brāhmaṇa*, father of Paraśu Rāma, who learning of the act of Daśaratha proceeds to slay kings and exalt *brāhmaṇas*. Rāma and Raiṣmaṃ (so Lakṣmaṇa is called here) are saved by the queen of Sahasrabāhu in an underground cavern. After twelve years they emerge and learning of Paraśu Rāma who had slain their father seek him out. Then the text reads:
>
> Then those two (brothers) arose together, they sought Paraśu Rāma, they asked, Where is he to be seen? He is in the mountains; there he dwells. When they met, they did not recognise one another, since they had escaped the slaughter. When they entered the mountains where Paraśu Rāma's dwelling was, the place was empty; no one was there. The brothers shouted together, Is there the man to meet us? At once he came. When they met the three spoke at once harsh hostile words together. Rāma seized Paraśu Rāma, he raised him up and cast him to the ground. He sank in to his breast. He shot him through with an arrow. Paraśu Rāma's breath fled forth.

The loss of Sītā is described:

> Rāma and Raiṣmaṃ pursued an antelope, leaving Sītā within a magic circle. Daśagrīva the demon sees Sītā from the air. There was

the woman, lovely to behold. He thereupon alighted on the ground. He could however not cross the magic circle, nor did the woman move towards him. He fought with the bird (which protected Sītā). It was exhausted. He gathered for it lumps of tin red with blood. The bird swallowed them greedily; he became heavy and gave up life. Daśagrīva disguised himself took a (mendicant's) staff and bowl in hand and approached her for alms. She offered alms, he seized her by the hand and rose flying in the air. When Rāma and Raiṣmaṃ returned to the dwelling, Sītā was not in the house.

Rāma and Daśagrīva fight:

Daśagrīva when he knew he was utterly defeated, mounted up to the clouds. From the ocean he drew out a poisonous snake which, should it touch a man, he would waste away. When the sorcerers knowing the charms (*mantras*) understood, they prepared the oil and smeared it on the weapon. The snake fled swiftly away. Then Daśagrīva threw the missile. The point on a sudden pierced Rāma's forehead and struck him to the gound. Great was the grief of monkeys and men.

Then the *amṛta-sanjīva* medicine is fetched and Rāma is healed.

Lyrical verses strike a welcome but unexpected light since the *Ārya*-monks inevitably rejected amours. They relate the story of Vyāsa's infatuation. The verses beginning *byūṣṭä vasve jūhaunai bāḍä pasālī* 'dawned has the pure amorous time of spring' are preserved in four manuscripts.[11]

The clear amorous time of spring has dawned which approves the love in the mind of enamoured gallants. The young folk are awake to one another. With acts of love, straightway they bunch up flowers. All around the delightful breezes blow. The lovers draw to themselves violently the beloved's heart. Here that Jambudvīpa youth seems drunken; he is in the place of dalliance amorously fierce. Around, the intoxicated *deva māgadha* musicians have arrived; they play for the lovers among the *hamārana*-flowers. They showed favour to the men; then they here gathered branches, creepers, bushes and buds, filaments and flowers. The birds, quail, duck and hoopoe, and sparrow sing among the blossoming trees.

Difficult documents for us to understand concern daily routine and diplomatic interests. The long despatch of *Viśa Śūra* to his Chinese uncle in Ṣacū (Throana) is an apologetic memoir (P 5538):

As to what is the work of occupying an alien territory and maintaining the government, that is great and difficult; and as an alien we do not secure control. Thus you, our mother's brother, the *Ts'au Tauang*[12] should not carry resentment in your heart. As to how it will turn out here, a rescript will be issued later. Then too powerful Chinese were there, and we, the Light of the Land, have long remained in the outer part of the country. If too the provisions and the like were not received according to reasonable wishes, do not therefore carry displeasure in your heart. While carrying on the government here, there is very much administration of every kind.

The exculpatory tone continues. Then towards the end *Viśa Śūra* names his gifts to the *Ta-uang*:

first of medium jade one piece of 42 *kin* weight, secondly pure jade-stone, 10 *kin* weight, and thirdly jade-stone 8½ *kin* weight, amounting to three lumps of *īra*-stone 60½ *kin* weight. Also one leather cuirass and one hammer and one axe both fitted with bone handle and one vessel and one vat.

He then calls attention to the princes of Khotan:

Our princes, each one is heroic and valiant (using the archaic epithet *kavi*-). Therefore here with you we have been very happy in our own royal mind.

The most eloquent, the most long-sustained panegyric,[13] of *Viśa Saṃgrāma*, is in P 2787 1–195. He is lauded as a fifth world regent (*loka-pāla*):

With a view to offer *pūjā*-worship by power of the desire and invitation of the Holy Lord (Chinese *Śai-kū*,聖君 *ṣəng-kün*) the gracious *deva*-god for the first origination of all the *deva* Buddhas dwelling in the ten regions, present in person; with a view to increase abundantly the force of those who dwell in the *Ratna-janapada* (that is, Khotan, the Land of Jade) beginning with *Śakra* (the older *Indra*), *Brahmāna* and the four world-regents (*lokapāla*) and the keepers of the Buddha's Law, protectors, deities, guardians, and 18,000 *nāga* kings (dragons) devoted to the Buddha's Law, led by the dragon king *Grahavadatta*, for the purity of the stages (*bhūmi*-) and the perfections (*pāramitā*-) resulting from accumulations and plenitude of merit (*puṇya*), knowledge, . . . with a view to raising the noble celestial long three-fold life lineage of the King of Kings, the Holy Lord (*śī kū*) *Śrī Vijita Saṃgrāma* ruling with fortune over the *Ratna-janapada* (Khotan, Land of Jade) . . . a fifth world-regent guardian of the Golden Land, and *Ratna-janapada* . . .; to-day in the evening here a preaching will be held on the noble profound true Law of the Buddha.

Two narratives of travel are preserved. The one in prose (KT 2.55–57 and SDTV 70–73) relates a journey from the Land of Vi, that is, Khotan, to Adhiṣṭhāna-capital of Kaśmīra with details of things seen on the way. The cities of Gilgit and Chilas are named. The second narrative is in verse, of a journey from Khotan to Ṣacū with descriptions of scenery and recall of the difficulties of the road.

The translations of Buddhist texts forms the bulk of the extant literature

of ancient Khotan. Extracts will show the wealth of material from the following books: *Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra, Saṃghāṭa-sūtra, Vajracchedikā-sūtra, Prajñā-pāramitā, Vajrayāna, Bhadracaryā-deśanā, Manjuśrī-nairātmyāvatāra-sūtra, Sumukha-sūtra, Caitya-pradakṣiṇā, Karma-deśanā,* Book of *Zambasta* and a Buddhist Travellers Notebook.

These texts are mostly still known in the Buddhist Sanskrit originals or Tibetan translations. But some texts are adaptations from originals which have not yet been found in Sanskrit.

The Suvarṇa-bhāsa text is found in an older word for word translation and also in an adapted verse text. The chapter of the Golden Drum of Ruciraketu from which verses of Buddhist teachings issue begins thus:

> Then Ruciraketu the *bodhisattva* (the seeker of supreme knowledge) with joy and pleasure slept; in his dream he saw a golden drum, shining in all directions, it was like a *vimāna*-dwelling of the sun. In all regions he saw countless *deva* Buddhas under jewelled trees; seated upon beryl seats they are surrounded with their retinues. Thence they preach the Law. He saw a man in *Brāhmaṇa* form, he beats the drum. Then he heard from the sound of the drum *gāthā* verses issuing with the *deśanā*-teaching. Ruciraketu awakes and with many followers goes out of the city *Rājagṛha* to seek the Budddha on *Gṛdhrakūṭa* hill.

He recites the verses from the golden drum in 105 four-lines strophes.

The Saṃghāṭa-sūtra has now been found in a complete Sanskrit manuscript but when it was first studied by E. Leumann and Sten Konow only Tibetan and Chinese versions were known. The Sanskrit text was found in the Gilgit *stūpa* monument in 1933 from which I had two copies of imperfect manuscript. Later the complete text was found in a Nepal library and will be published by O. von Hinüber. The Khotan Saka translation follows the text closely:

> There is an unusual story of a human sacrifice to save a son's life. It is told how the mother and father find their son ill and despondent, and urge him to courage expressing the hope of a full cure (*siddhi-*). The son replies: I feel not fever in my body, nor does the illness distress me. I see grim death and my body hard struck; of itself the whole body is pressed with woe. To whose refuge shall I go? Who will bring deliverance? The mother and the father say, My son, surely you suffer a *deva*-god's anger. Make an offering to the *deva*-gods, then you will do well. The son replied, Do you yourselves so act that it will go well with me. Go quickly and ask the practiser of charms of the *deva*-god. Then the parents go to the *deva*-temple, they burn incense to the *deva*-god. Then the practiser of charms gives the incense to the *deva*-god and he states, The *deva*-god is angered. You must make offering to the *deva*-god, do him worship. In this case an animal victim must be slain and a human must be killed. Then your son will escape from his illness. So the parents at that time think thus, What shall we do? We are poor. If we do not propritiate the *deva*-god our son will die. They get the victim, but the son dies while they are preparing and so the parents too die. The story is used to expound the teaching of rebirth (*upapatti-*) in one of the *naraka-* called *Raurava.*

The Vajracchedikā-sūtra has the colloquy of *Subhūti* and the Buddha (KT 3.22 to 14a3). A part of the dialogue is the following:

> So what does it seem to you, Subhūti? Does not the notion of self (*ātma-saṃjñā*) exist or does not the notion of being (*satva-saṃjñā*) or the notion of living individual (*jīva-saṃjñā*) or the notion of person (*pudgala-saṃjñā*)? The *deva* Buddha spoke to him. So what does it seem to you, *Subhūti,* where someone can understand the discourse on the Law as in the parable of the raft (*kola-upamā*). The Law (*dāta-* = *dharma-*) must indeed be abandoned, how much more the non-law (*adāta-*). As the man who has business beyond the river, while he has not yet crossed the river, does not yet abandon the raft; when he has crossed, he certainly does not carry it. Just so the *Bodhisattva,* while he does not know the fortune (*śrī*), does not fail to hold the Law.

A long text complete in 30 folios has survived containing the interpretation of the *Hṛdaya-sūtra* of the *Prajñā-pāramitā* including the famous formula (39r2–39v4) *gate gate saṃgate pāra-gate pāra-saṃgate bodhi svāhā.* This *mantra* of *mantras* I published long ago in the BSOAS 13, 1951, 934–937, 28 years ago, together with the Sogdian version. The formula is called *pīrmāttaṃ maṃdrrāṃ maṃdrrä* 'the prime *mantra* of *mantra* (*mantra-* mystic formula)'. This text is now translated in the volume dedicated to Ed. Conze, 1979, pp. 152–162. It is a text of technical terms. It begins:

> The *deva* Buddha was pleased to expound the *dharma*-doctrine of the great perfection of wisdom. The perfection of wisdom is right, great *bodhi-* knowledge, the discourse of theoretical knowledge, the one *dharma*-doctrine of the masses (*skandha-*). Now what is theoretical knowledge (*vijñāna-*)? That is unpolluted by nature in all the elements.

A most interesting part of this text is the definition of the *bodhisattva-* according to the *Prajñā-pāramitā* doctrine. The *bodhisattva* became a central part of Buddhist thought. It is a term continually cited in these texts. The Khotan scholars asserted that eight *Bodhisattvas* had taken into their care eight divisions of the Khotan land and the names of the divisions are recorded. They are edited from Tibetan and Khotan Saka in BSOAS 10, 1942, 910–911. To Western Asia the concept was carried. In the Zoroastrian Pahlavī the *bwt'sp* **bōtāsaf* is named as a *dēv* worshipped in

India.[14] In Muslim books the name *Būdāsaf* was a centre of parables. It is transmitted in Georgian, Greek and Latin where it took the form *Iodasaph, Ioasaph.*

In Khotan Saka the word was transcribed variously: *bodhisatva-, baudhisatva-, baudhasatva-, budhasatva-, budisatva-, būtäsatva-,* and *baudhasattä.* Elsewhere there are Kroraina *bodhisatva-,* Tibetan *bo-de-sva-tva,* Tokhara Agni *bodhisattu,* adjective *bodhisatvem*; Kuci *bodhisatve,* adjective *bodhisatväññe*; the Chinese has two syllables 菩薩 *p'u-sa,* from older K 756 *p'u,* 1167 *sa, p'uo-sât,* Japanese *bo-satsu,* in Brāhmī transcription *phusari.* In consonantal scripts occur Sogdian *pwtystβ, pwtysβ, pwtsβ,* Uigur *pwtystβ, pwtysβ* and Arabic *al-būδisifīyah.* The Khotan Saka rendered the term by *balysūña-vūysaa-* 'seeking *bodhi*-state', glossing it by *bgysūśtä kūśę* 'he seeks knowledge'.[15]

The *bodhisattva* is defined in the *Prajñā-pāramitā* text (13vl–14r4):

> the *bodhisattva,* having the same nature (as the *dharma-kāya*), dominates in meditation. He is always pure by nature, seeing the Buddhaic growth, the *gotra-,* omnivalent in the elements on the course of the *bodhisattvas,* based on the perfection of wisdom. In thought he is concentrated on *bodhi-* knowledge, meditates continually (*bhāvanā*) in his practice in the world (*saṃsāra-*). He must realise all exists by name only and is *śūnya-* (rather inadequately rendered by 'void').

The *Vajrayāna,* the Diamond[16] vehicle, with its supreme being *Vajrasattva* is a later development in Buddhism, later still was the *Kālacakra.* In Khotan the *Vajrayāna* had clearly a considerable following. In Khotan Saka there are *Vajrayāna* verses. The Travellers Notebook reveals that the *bhikṣu* monk's preferred reading was *Vajrayāna* texts. The colophon of the Jātakastava states that the writer shares his merit with teachers (*ācārya-*) and householders (*gāṭhaa-* laymen). Texts (in KBT 149–156) set out in verse favourite doctrines of the *Vajrayāna.* The perfections (*pāramitā-*) are personified as female geniuses and named in feminine forms of the words *lāsa-, nṛtya-, māla-, puṣpa-, gīta-, dhūpa-, gandha-.* Hence the beings *lāsyā* 'sport', *mālyā* 'garland', *puṣpā* 'blossom', *nṛtyā* 'dance' *dhūpā* 'perfume', *gandhā* 'scent'. A partial translation of the text is in an article, Vajrayāna in Gostana-deśa, in the Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies (Wisconsin) I, 1979.

There such a paragraph can be read:

> The mother and queen of the four perfections (*pāramitā-*) is the perfection of Giving, which they call *Lāsā* (pleasure) because it is allied to amorous sport (*rati-*), joined to pure fruition (*vipāka-*) for beings in the five life-stages (*gati-*) which is in turn secret sporting and amusement.

The *Vajrayāna* interpretation of the rosary (*gaṇayitrī* 'counter') is given in a complete text in four folios (KBT 143–146). A first attempt at a translation was made in the volume of Studies in Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism, Kōyasan University, 1965.

A devotional poem of great charm is the Bhadra-caryā-deśanā 'the instruction on the Good Career' of the *Bodhisattva.* This is preserved in a Buddhist Sanskrit with many Prakrit forms and has survived in a complete adapted rendering in Khotan Saka. It begins with an invocation to Manjuśrī:

> At the very first I come with reverence (*aurga,* the old sacred base *barg-*) in love with faith to *Manjuśrī,* the proclaimer of highest meaning where thoughts cease, that is the 'Gentle Goodness', the quiescence of trance-meditation, that is verily *Manjuśrī.*

In verse 21 the poet prays:

> May I who am walking (*car-*) in the great course (*caryā-*) of *bodhi*-knowledge be always born with memory of births. In all births wherever I am born, may I attain entrance (*upasampadā*) to asceticism.

With a final wish the translator joins himself to the poet:

> By this merit (*puṇya-*) following upon profound *bhāvanā*-meditation on the Law (*dāta-* = *dharma-*), may the world of beings (*satva-dhātu-*) know the pure nature of mind. Whatever secrets there are in this *deśanā*-instruction, may I realise it. May I without fail become enlightened (*buddha-*). With obeisance (I bow down).

A long metrical text entitled within it the *Manjuśrī-nairātmyāvatāra-sūtra* 'the book of the entrance into non-self, of Manjuśrī' has so far not been traced in Buddhist Sanskrit form. It contains, in later Khotan Saka language, many verses which are known in older spelling in the Book of *Zambasta.* It seems likely to be an original poem based upon a wide knowledge of Buddhist doctrine. Here too excerpts are difficult because of the ceaseless technical terms. A reference to painting may be most worth while citing to illustrate this text. Thus in KBT 114, 34–36:

> Whatever are there male and female, (the elements) water, earth, fire, air, remove all contingent causes (*pratyaya-*). No self, no being exists at all. As on a painter's canvas indeed there is created a woman as a picture, hair, skin, with vision of locks, there she moves in the mind of fools. Just so all forms (*rūpa-*) are like a picture on a painter's canvas.

The colophon (435–445) gives the writer, the *bhadanta* (Chinese *thyaya ttīka*)[17] *Devendraśūrasiṃha.* He shares the merit of the poem with the King of Kings, *Viśą Sabava* and *Viśą Śūra,* with teachers and friends.

A complete text of the short Sumukha-sūtra, a text full of quotations of *dhāraṇī-* formulae ascribed to various supernal beings, is preserved in

excellent older Khotanese (KBT 135–143), of which a Tibetan version and a Chinese version exist, and a small fragment of the Sanskrit is known. The supernal beings who proffer their charms are *Vajrapāṇi bodhisatva-*; *Vaiśṛmaṇa-, Dṛttirāṣṭra-, Virūlaa-, Virūpākṣa-*, the four great kings;[18] *Hārva* mother of *bhūta-*demons (*Hāritī*); *Paṃcaa-* the great *yakṣa-*goblin; *Mahiśvara- devaputra*; *Skandha-* the youth, the great troop-commander; *Candraprabha- devaputra-*; *Āryāvilokiteśvara- bodhisattva-*; *Mitrai*[19] *bodhisattva-*; *Himavat* great commander of the *yakṣa-*goblins; *Sāttāgira-* great commander of the *deva-*gods; *Vajraśaṃkala-* the great *deva-*god; *Vajrasena- bodhisattva-*; *Vajradūtta-* great *rākṣasa-* demon. The whole audience approved the Buddha's sermon.

The writer names himself *Śāṃ Khīṅä Hyā*: *Saṃgaki.* It was written in the city of Ṣacū in the year of the Hare, 5th day of the 9th month.

A short metrical text called the Caitya-pradakṣiṇā 'reverence for the shrine' in the latest Khotan Saka, edited in KBT 72–74, has been translated in the volume of Buddhist Studies in honour of I. B. Horner, 1974; a parallel text but divergent exists in Tibetan. A similar set of verse in Buddhist Sanskrit has been published by R. Handurukande in the Senarat Paranavitana Commemoration Volume, 1978, 75–77. It stresses the profit of the worship of the *caitya-*shrine.

A Vimalakīrti text in later Khotan Saka and incomplete (KBT 104–113) differs from the text familiar in Tibetan (translation by E. Lamotte in L'enseignement de Vimalakīrti, 1962). It awaits a full translation. A fragment however of the Buddhist Sanskrit text similar to that translated by Professor Lamotte is preserved in KT 5.131–132 (with the Tibetan text in Appendix 377–378). R.A.F. Thurman has an English translation, 1976.

A long text of Avalokiteśvara, but incomplete, is printed in KT 3.1–13, but not yet translated, in excellent older Khotan Saka (folios 5–23).

Verses 13–30 of a poem to *Amitāyus* has reached us. A facsimile and translation is in my KT 4.36–37. This is the older name of the Sogdian *"myt', "m'yt,* Uigur Turkish *abita,* Mongol *'abida, "pyd',* and most famous Japanese *Amida.* Khotan Saka has developed *Armyāya-.* In a Turkish text there is *namau amitabaya* (dative singular in *-āya*). In Tibetan there are *'amidewa, 'amihi dewa* and *'amitabha.*

A most important text, the longest, in excellent old Khotan Saka is the Book of *Zambasta,* so called from the name in the colophon *Ysambasta.* It is in 24 chapters and about 4,000 lines of verse. It is full of all manner of Buddhist lore. The Maitreya chapter 22 tells the whole story of the *bodhisattva Maitreya.* Its parallel is in the Bud. Skt. *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa.* There are two editions, E. Leumann (and Manu Leumann) Das nordarische Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus, 1933–1936; and R. E. Emmerick, The book

of Zambasta, 1968. In 1965, folios not hitherto to hand were published by V. S. Vorob'ev-Desiatovskij and M. I. Vorob'eva-Desiatovskaja, Skazanie o Bhadre.

A picture of an ideal city is given in the Maitreya chapter of Z 22.130–140. Ketumatī city (the future name, it is stated, of *Bārāṇaysa-,* Benares) will be 12 measures long (*ggaṃpha-* renders Bud. Skt. *yojana-*) and 8 measures wide. The houses are to be full of men and women. The gates will be of the seven precious substances (*ratna-*). In the gardens will be varied flowers. There will be water-birds, geese and ducks. The city courts will be golden and covered in. A large wide market is to be sprinkled with golden sand, and there are no thieves. A dragon *Jalaprabha* lives in the Lake. Trees will be round about, a covering of nets of bells. Lofty jewel-pillars there will be and heaps of gold and silver in the inner chambers. The *yakṣa-*goblin waters the plants by day, by name *Patropaśodhana-.*

A fragmentary bilingual text in Buddhist Sanskrit and Khotan Saka of the Adhyardhaśatikā-prajñā-pāramitā, called also Prajñā-pāramitā-naya śata-pancāśatikā, was published by E. Leumann in Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur, 1912, 84–99. It was later printed again in Tokyo under the same title, 1930. There is also a printing of the fragment with Tibetan and Chinese by H. Idzumi and S. Toganoo in Kyoto, 1917.

It is the basic text of the *Kōyasan* Monastery of *Kōbō Daishi.* The Sanskrit is almost wholly lost and the monks chant the Chinese in the daily morning service which I was able to attend in 1971.

The poem of the *dānapati* patron *Jsajsaka* in honour of the Buddha *Amitāyus, Armyāya bgysa,* is cited above. The first twelve verses are missing but the verses 13–30 are complete. This *Armyāya* is the very heart of the *Amida* cult in Japan. The poet pictures *Armyāya* seated upon a golden lotus set with jewels. He is recipient of the worship of thousands of followers (*ṣāvā phara ysāra*). The devotees seek the paradise *Sukhāvatī* where they will see *Armyāya* face to face.

One important facet of Buddhist literature was the drama. But, though the drama was known in Khotan, no piece has been found. They used the word *nālai,* later *naule* (as the Tibetans used *no-le*) from the Prakrit of Bud. Skt. *nāṭaka-.* The shadow-play (*chāya-nālai*) is named. The Tokhara A and B, where fragments have been found, used the older form *nāṭak.* The Sanskrit and Prakrit fragments of dramas were well edited by H. Lüders in his book Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen, 1911.

Here then is a body of texts, some complete, some incomplete, which can fill lacunae between the original Buddhist Sanskrit books and the Tibetan and Chinese Tripiṭaka.

There was clearly an enlightened and learned body of scholars supported

by the Khotan Court imbued with a love of Indian, that is, here, Buddhist learning. This continued to the beginning of the 11th century when it was extinguished by the coming of Turks with Islam. The quietist monkish atmosphere could not long survive such a conquest. It recalls the Viking invasion at the same period in Western Europe. The monks of Lindisfarne knew the same disasters in 793 A.D.

A task remains. A complete annotated corpus of English translations of all these Khotan Saka texts must some time in the future be created. It requires no little familiarity with Buddhist terminology. The corresponding texts are often locked away in Tibetan or Chinese when the original Sanskrit is lost. It is notable that the long Buddhist Sanskrit names are kept unchanged in the older Khotan Saka texts (and if popular have developed later forms) where the Tibetan translation was likely to replace the Sanskrit name by Tibetan words. This has been found in one name where Khotan Saka has *Śubhādhimuktä* (KT 5.132, a4) but it was reconstructed from Tibetan as *Śuddhādhimukti.*

In a reprint of my Khotanese Buddhist Texts of 1951, now in the Cambridge University Press, a list of more recent studies of almost all those texts is inserted. The medical texts are receiving great attention in the hands of R. E. Emmerick.

My own concern in working at these largely unpublished manuscripts from 1934 was to extract the evidence for Iranian dialect material of a language still highly inflected and preserving a large part of the older Iranian vocabulary. This material is now accessible in my book the Dictionary of Khotan Saka 1979, at the Cambridge University Press. It may serve Iranian studies for a time. Already for me the book contains work four years old and new interpretations are always to be expected. A dictionary can always be followed by a supplement.

Notes

1. For this ALP, see Studies presented to S. A. Cook, 1950, Cambridge Oriental Series 2), A Problem of the Kharoṣṭhī script, 1–3. The symbol is already in Journal asiatique, 1911, I, opposite p. 414, from Miran.

2. The *M* for 100 in Kharoṣṭhī script is listed from the inscriptions in Sten Konow, Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, 1929, p. cxxvii. The Taxila sign is identical with the letter *M* in Aramaic script on the letter no. 8 of *Aršām,* edited in G. R. Driver, Aramaic documents of the fifth century B.C., 1954.

3. Kroraina Kharoṣṭhī texts are in A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson, E. Senart, Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, 1929.

4. Sten Konow, cited in n. 2.

5. Kharoṣṭhī inscription of Seṇavarma published JRAS, 1980.

6. For the name Kadphisēs, the forms are quoted in BSOAS 13, 1950, 393–397: καδαφες, καδφιζου, καδφισης, kasasa, kapasa, kaphsasa, kadaphasa, kapiśasa, kaphasa, ka'usa and the uncertain kapphiśasa (-ṭhph-). In the Seṇavarma inscription a new Kharoṣṭhī sign occurs 𐨦 in this name, which has a lower limb of uncertain value; possibly it is *-phśa-*, if the name corresponds to the Greek Kadphisēs. A Sogdian coin is reported with the reading KBṢT MLKA (see W. B. Henning, Mitteliranische, 1958, p. 26).

7. The spelling in Mekhithar of Airavank of this name is *k'saroustr.* An early transliteration of Armenian *k's* by *X* misled P. Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo I 199. The *k's* is the usual Armenian rendering of the Greek *xi* Ξ. The name *Kharuṣṭa-* is in A. F. R. Hoernle, Manuscript remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan, p. 121.

8. *kārtsnyaṃ* from *kā, r, t, s, y* 𑀓𑀸, 𑀭, 𑀢, 𑀲, 𑀬, is abbreviated to 𑀓𑀸𑀢𑁆𑀲𑁆𑀦𑁆𑀬𑀁.

9. The 12 new signs are published in facsimile in Sten Konow, Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt, 1935, p. 7.

10. N is E. Leumann, Buddhistische Literatur, Nebenstücke, 1920.

11. References to the Lyric texts are KT 3. 34–36; 30; 36–39; 40–41; 45–48.

12. Ts'au Ta-uang 曹大王 is in Khotan Saka *tcau tteyi hyāṃ.* The *Ts'au* family was famous in Ṣacū. See L. Giles, BSOS 7, 556–572.

13. For *Viśa Saṃgrāma,* see AM, n.s., 11, 1965, 101–119.

14. See BSOS 6, 1931, 279–283.

15. For *balysūña-vūysai,* see KT 6.225–230, s.v. *balysa-.*

16. For the meaning of *vajra-*, note also the two proper names *Vaśira-saṃga-* 'Diamond stone' and *Īra-saṃga-* 'Jade stone'. Similarly *vajra-* is used of the adamantine body, as in Z 22.222 *vaśärāmo ttarandaru* and KBT 51,7.2 *vīṣairä vajrrāmā aṃgä*. The history of 'Diamond' is given in B. Laufer, The Diamond, Field Museum of Natural History 184, 1915.

17. Chinese *thyaya ttīka*大德 K 952 *t'ai* < *t'ai*, 981 *tə* < *tək* 'of great virtue' for Bud. Skt. *bhadanta*. Japanese reads *daitoku*.

18. The four Great Kings are *Vaiśravaṇa* (replacing *Kuvera*), *Dhṛtarāṣṭra-*, *Virūḍhaka-*, *Virūpākṣa-*.

19. *Mitrai* is *Maitreya-*, here preceded by *śirata* 'good, kind', as anticipating *Maitreya* from *maitrī* 'kindness'. The forms of the name *Maitreya* are listed in KT 6.280–281, s.v. *mätrai*. The vocative plural of *śirata-* is *śirayyau* 'good sirs', and *śiratayyau*.

20. The Buddhist Sanskrit text is missing at this point. S. Lévi translated the corresponding portion from Tibetan (Mélanges Linossier II, 1932, 391). It has different details. E. Leumann, *Maitreya-samiti* 1919, published a similar Pali text, the *Anāgata-vaṃsa*; and printed also Chinese parallel texts.

Chapter 5

The Peoples Around Khotan

This fifth lecture must touch upon four exceedingly controversial topics. Viewed from Khotan it is a contribution to the history of Turkestan before the Turks. The view must range from about 1000 before our era to the year 1000, a period of 2,000 years. It has been a regrettable experience that Turkologists, Sinologists, Tibetologists and Indianists have approached these difficult problems without an adequate preparatory schooling in Iranica. It is necessary to remember that Iranian was still the written language in Khotan in the 10th century. The Turks took over the Buddhist kingdom of Khotan only in 1006 A.D. In the 11th century the Kančakī language lingered in the surroundings of Kāšγar.

The certain ethnic names can be cared for first. Here there are *Ciṃga, Ttāhgtta, Ttūrka-, Hvehura-, Ttattara-, Supīya-, Ttaśīka-, Ttaṃgāta-, 'Erma-, Argīna-, Kučīna-, Suvarṇagotra-*. The names in controversy are *Huna-, Cimuḍa-, Hara-* and *Gara-*.

It is planned to give full coverage to these ethnic problems in Volume 9 of my Khotanese Texts, now in preparation. Here an hour is too short to put forth all the evidence.

The name *ciṃga-*, later *ciga-, cega-, caiga-*, with adjectives *ceṃgāna-*, and *ciṃgāna-*, causes no problem. This is the North Iranian word for the Chinese. The name is preserved from the time of the Dynasty *Ts'in* (秦 255–208 B.C., K 1082 from *dz'ịěn*). In Khotan Saka **čēnaka-* has resulted in *ceṃga-* and *ciṃga-*. But elsewhere without the suffix *-ka-* it was carried West through Iranian-speaking regions as *čēna-*, so in Kroraina *cina-paṭa-* 'silk', Bud. Skt. *cīna-deśa* 'China', Sogdian *čynstn*, Zor. Pahl. *čyn, čynst'n, čynyk*, Armenian *čen, čenastan, čen-bakour, čen-k', čenik*, New Persian *čēnistān, čēnī*, Arabic *Ṣīn* and *Māṣīn* (from Indian *cīna-* and *mahācīna-*).

This Iranian channel for a Far East ethnic name is important also in a case to note later.

The adjective in *-āva-* was employed to express 'in the language of' as *ciṅgau, caigau* 'in the Chinese language'; *hvatanau, hvaṃno* 'in the Khotan

language', just as the same suffix *āu* was in Ossetic, as in *ironau* 'in the Iron language'.

The land of China was *caiga-kṣīra-*, rendering Bud. Skt. *caina-deśa.* It was also called the Golden Land: (KT 3.104.29) *ysaṃnījai je(na)yai vī caigau bāḍä vī ysāvū* 'I was born in the Golden Land, the land of China'.

Towards the end of the Buddhist kingdom of Khotan the despatch of *Viśa Śūra* (KT 2.125–129), cited already, to his mother's brother the *Tauang* (Great Ruler) of Ṣacū reveals how close the Khotan royal family was to the almost Imperial Chinese ruler. Politically China dominated the region of the *Śītā* River, the Tarim Basin, till 790 A.D. when the Tibetans expanded and held them out till 860. The history of the Ṣacū region can be read in the monograph of L. Giles in BSOS 7.556–572. Then the Turk Uigurs drove the Tibetans off and Khotan could once more in 938 send an embassy to China.

There are among the Khotan Saka manuscripts some short Chinese texts in Brāhmī script. There is one glossary of Chinese words explained in Khotan Saka but without Chinese signs so that not all can be understood (KT 2.1,1–12; SDTV 17–19). The Chinese pronunciation is of northwest China of the 9th to 10th century. There is a fragment of a Chinese-Khotan Saka conversation for getting food in an inn (KT 3.136). Chinese names and titles abound, some of which were listed in the first Lecture. Chinese place-names are abundant in the Geographical Text (KT 2.72–76). A plant name *ceṃgāṃ ttīrai* 'the bitter plant of the Chinese' is used for the Indian *nimba,* the botanical name being azadirachta indica.

Ttāṃḥatta, Ttąḥgtta renders Bud. Skt. *bauṭa* (Indian Skt. *bhoṭa-, bhoṭṭa*) that is 'Tibet', in a bilingual text (KT 3.123.59). This is reduced by one syllable to *ttąḥtta* (KT 2,120.205). That is a spelling of **toγat* or **toγut* with, as often, *ḥa* for a fricative *-γ-*. Another spelling of this fricative *-γ-* is the plain *-g-*. Hence the most common spelling of the name of Tibet is *ttāgutta-,* as reported in the third lecture. This is a development of **toβut* to **toγut.* The variation of *u̯* and *g* is a development very common in various languages, whether initial as in Germanic *u̯-* to *gu̯-* as English *war* beside French *guerre,* or Balōčī *gw-*, New Persian *g-*, or medial as Italian *dogana* 'customs', Old Indian *jāguḍa-* for *zāβul,* or Tibetan spelling *su-garna* for Bud. Skt. *suvarṇa-* (see BSOAS 10, 1940, 913). An interesting case is the name of the Lady *Tawvas xat'un* (*tauvous xat'oun*) called also *Toγus,* the modern Mongol *toγus* 'peacock', the familiar Persian *ṭāūs.* The names by which Tibet came to the West are: Sogdian *twp'wt,* adjective *twp'wtč'ny*; Zor. Pahl. *twpyt,* New Persian *tubbat,* Syriac *twpt-y',* Marco Polo *Tebet.*

The phrase Chinese大蕃 *ta-fan* 'great Tibet' corresponds to Tibetan *bod*

chen and occurs in 8th to 10th centuries documents from Ṣacū (L. Giles, BSOS 7.560–561), beside the usual 吐蕃 *t'u-fan* for Tibetan *bon,* the older form for *Bod* 'Tibet'. For this Bod there is the spelling *pātta* in a Tibetan letter in Khotan Saka orthography (KT 3.62.75; BSOAS 36, 1973, 225).

The medical text Siddhasāra was rendered from *Ttāgutta.* As pointed out as long ago as BSOAS 10, 1940, 605 there is a mistranslation, in one passage, of the Tibetan text. The correct text had *čha* 'part' to translate Bud. Skt. *leśa-* 'small part' but the Khotan Saka translator has translated Tibetan *ćha* 'salt'. In Siddhasāra 140v3 the Tibetan editions vary, Narthang has *sla-ba* 'easy', and the Pekin edition has *sra-ba* 'compact'. The Khotan Saka text translated both with negative before 'easy'. Thus there is *stadą nvaśtä ni jīye,* Narthang *sla-ba yino,* Bud. Skt. *sthira-.*

The translation of the Siddhasāra follows the Tibetan text closely. The Minister who had the manuscript had the Tibetan name *Paḍa-ttanä Dpal-brtan* 'firm in Fortune'.

For foreign *-o-* the Khotan Saka normally used its *-ā-*. It will be necessary later to examine the origin of the word *Tibet* when the ethnic name *Gara* is reached.

There are many words and names from Tibetan in the Khotan Saka documents. Thus KT 2.74.34 *baḍä rgyaḍä sūmä, Bal Rgyal-sum*; KT 2.79.10 *dārjī paḍa, Rdo-rje dpal*; KT 2.43.40 *ysbaḍä parrūṃ,* KT 2.73.11–12 *ysabaḍä parrūṃ, Zbal phrom* 'market'; KT 2.12.b15 *krraśīsa, bkra-śis*; KT 2.46.78 *cahä-spata, jags-pa* 'bandits'; KT 2.112.43 *lyehsä, legs* 'good'; KT 2,73,12 *ḍū-rtcī, klu-rće*; KT 2.16,3b1 *bulunä*; KT 2.17,5a8 *bulāṃnä, blon* 'minister'.

The Tibetans had however for themselves also the name *gdoṅ-dmar* 'red-faced' and this was translated by Khotan Saka *heinā-khoca* 'red-faced'. These *heinā-khoca* are denounced by the poet as destroyers of Khotan (Z 15.9).

The first word in the verse Z 15.9 *māṃkuya* must be noted. But no final explanation has yet been found. It can be either (1) an epithet to the four enemy names in pejorative sense, or (2) another ethnic name. For an interpretation the modern suburb name of Khotan *Mākuya* seems to require notice. If this *Mākuya* proves an old *-ā-*, it would exclude a direct connection with the name *Mongo-* 'Mongol'. The Khotan Saka use of *-ā-* for foreign *-o-* would not serve here. The retention of *-ṃk-* and *-k-* would normally mean a former conjunct of two consonants such as *-tk-* or *-kk-* like the *-k-* in *pakai* 'covering (?)' from *paθk-*. Then the meanings (1) and (2) could be joined in **maθku-* from the base *manθ-*: *maθ-* 'to crush'.

The derivation would be **maθ-ku-* 'destructive' as an epithet, but also

'destroyers' as a name for a hostile tribe. Thence the further shift to **maṃku-* and *māṃku-*, modern *māku-*. If the name *mongo-* 'mongol', of which the source is unknown, was earlier **munku-*, it could stand for older **manku-*. From a foreign **maṃku-* Khotan Saka could make *māṃku-*.

All this speculation assumes that the *-u-* is a suffix. But the base of *Māṃkuya* could also be *kau-* with preverbs *ham-ā-* (familiar in Zor. Pahl. *hm'pyr*, Turfan Parthian *hm'byr ham-ā-pārya-* to *par-* 'to build'). Such a word **ham-ā-ku-ya-* could then be placed with Khotan Saka *prrakuya-* 'besprinkled (?)' from *kau-* 'to cover', as to form.

For the group *-θk-* note that in *bilga-* 'kidney', Avestan *vərəδka-*, Old Indian *vṛkka-*, the *-θ-* was extruded so that *-g-*, not *-k-* resulted.

The name *Ttūrka-* occurs in this spelling once (KT 2.92.122), elsewhere always *ttrūka-*, a metathesis common with syllables *-ru-*, *uru-*, and *-ur-*. The Tibetan *drug*, *dru-gu* shows the same spelling. The name occurs 13 times in the text KT 2.87–92 (P 2741) translated in AM, n.s., I, and SDTV pp. 61–67. It is once also in KT 2.98.156 (P 2786). The report in P 2741 to the Khotan Court (*rrvī vī aurāsä haṣḍä*) from *Thyai Paḍä-tsā* expounds the situation of the Turks in Ṣacū and Kam-cū. At Ṣacū it was reported that a new Turkish Khan had been set up by the Turk Bayarku and the Saγun Ügä under guard of the Tarduš with one *ügä* and *buiruq-* officials. Thyai Paḍa-tsā went to Kam-cū and presented the gifts to the Khan. The officer *Ttuḍīśä Saḍäcū ttāttāhä*: brought an order to return at once to Ṣacū. A letter from Ṣacū had seemed 'cold-hearted' (*sāḍa-aysmu*). An envoy from *Ling-tu* of the region of *Śvahvāṃ* (*Ṣuo-fang*) failed to meet Thyai Paḍa-tsā. Then a troop came from Ṣacū with 2,000 *Cimuḍa* and 200 *Tatars*. The Khan *Bukä* died. The troop went to *Śaṃdaṃä* (*Ṣan-nam* 'mountain south') but returned. The *Cimuḍa* were indignant at this return. Thyai Paḍa-tsā stayed three months.

There is a complex set of movements of *Uigurs*, *Dūṃ*, *Tarduš*, *Ttūḍīśa*, *Turks*, and Chinese envoys. There is reference to 2,000 *Ttauḍägara* on the way to the *Tarduš* at the *Kara-Tagh* (Black Mountain). Envoys were from *Ling* in the *Ṣuo-fang* district. Thyai Paḍa-tsā had brought 600 pounds (*kin*) of jade and other presents for the Chinese. A Chinese envoy fled with Tangut envoys to the Turks. The *Dūṃ* people protested that their men had been scattered among the *Gara* people. Famine was rife in the city. The Khan was a youth and the Uigurs had no settled position. By the time Thyai Paḍa-tsā left Kamcū 367 men had died; 50 had been taken away captive. The cattle of the *Dūṃ* was seized. Little grain was sown and then not harvested. The Tatars of *Buhä* city (*Bug, U*, on the Yellow River) went two or three times to *Kara-tagh* and *Liau-ts'üan*. The *Tarduš* were from *Liau-ts'üan* to *Yipkin-tagh* (Purple Mountain) in Kamcū. Returned to Ṣacū, Thyai Paḍa-tsā had good news from Kamcū. He was taken to the ruler in Ṣacū. Meantime Thyai Paḍa-tsā was awaiting the orders from the Khotan Court to return from Ṣacū.

These official reports (*aurāsa haṣḍa*) to the Khotan Court list various nomad Turkish tribes. Here they are: the plain *Turk*, *Uigur*, *Tarduš*, *Tölis*, *Bayarku*, and *Tatars*. A list of 16 tribes is given in the Geographical text (KT 2.74.27–31). The names are discussed in AM, n.s., 2, 1951, 17–22 and by J. Hamilton, Les Ouïghours, 1955, 2ff. Here just the names are cited from the Khotan Saka text; *Yahä:ḍakgrä*, *Aḍapahūtta*, *Bākū*, *Bāsäkāttä*, *Kurabīrä*, *Kāräbarä*, *Ttūlīsä*, *Sīkgrä*, *Ttaugara*, *Ayabīrä*, *Karattaha-pata*, *Ttättarä*, *Dū sahūta*, *Sāḍimīya*, *Ttrūkä Bayarkāta*, *Cūṇūḍa*.

It should be realised that in such lists there is no certainty of ethnic identity. In the Sui-ṣu (84,8b) in 600 A.D. the Alana are listed among Turkish tribes although certainly Iranian. Similarly the *Čumul* of Al-Kāšγarī are listed with Turks although they had a different language of their own, and the *Dūṃ* are not Turkish.

In Khotan Saka the name *ttūrka-* and *ttrūka-* for *Türk* is inflected as a normal *-a-* stem with genitive plural *ttrūkāṃ* (just as *ttāguttāṃ* and *cimuḍāṃ*). Hence there is no trace of an *-u-* stem. The Orkhon inscriptions have *türk*; Sogdian has *twrkč'ny* (with adjective suffix *-čānaka-*). The Chinese spelling of the name Turk 突厥K 498,504 *t'u-küe* (or *tu*) from *t'uot-kiuət* has caused great perplexity. P. Pelliot (T'oung Pao 1915, 687–689) had urged for Chinese the pronunciation *türküt* with a plural which he thought could have been *Avar*. E. Pulleyblank (JAOS 85, 1965, 121–125) proposed to interpret the Chinese two-character spelling as representing a two-consonant final *-rk-*, explaining the *-kü*, older *-küt*, for final *-k* after a consonant. He gave numerous references in foreign words. It occurred however to J. Harmatta[1] that the Chinese may have learnt the name of the Turks from the Sogdians and hence the name may have been **turkīt* (this would be rather *-ēt*) as a Sogdian plural. But this *-īt* (rather *-ēt*) can only be the later Sogdian plural of a stem in *-aka-*, which is in older Sogdian *-k*, but in Manichean Sogdian *-yy*, *-y* (that is, *-ē*, later *-ī*), from which *-aka-tā-* gave *-ētā-*. The Khotan Saka had no *-aka-* suffix in the name of the *Turks*. Probably E. Pulleyblank's explanation has to be preferred. Tibetan *drug* and *dru-gu* and feminine *dru-gu-mo* 'Turkish lady' do not prove a final *-u* in Turkish, but is a familiar Tibetan suffix *-u*, as in *lug* 'lamb' and *lu-gu*, *lug-gu*, and similarly *gtah*, *gtehu* 'pledge'.

The *Uigur* Turks who occupied Turfan in 840 A.D. are prominent in the Khotan Saka documents. Although they had probably had direct contact

with the Uigurs, the Khotanese used a Chinese form of the Uigur name. Hence the various spellings which can be united in *hve;hvu:ra* (KT 2.110.3 with *h*: = *γ*, corresponding to Chinese 回紇 K 108,352 *xuei-xo*, from *yuâi-γuət*, Japanese *kwaikotsu*.

The Uigurs set up a young Khan in Ṣacū after the death of *Bukä Hanä* (*Boγa Xan*). There is mention (KT 2.112.40) also of *nūvara hve:hvu:ra* 'new Uigurs' who have come to Kamcū. Some of the Uigurs were accepted as allies by the Khotan emissaries. They are called *mājā hve:hvu:ra* 'our Uigurs' (KT 2.113.75), just as there were *mājā gara* 'our *Gara*'. A special group of *Uigurs* are named in KT 2.111.36 *ttaunä ttāttāhi*: *āstaṃna hve:hvu:ra* 'the Uigurs headed by *Ton todog*' (K 1187,908 *tu-tu*, from *tuo-tuk*, Japanese *totoku*, Turk *tutuuq* 'military Governor' or 'commander-in-chief').

The Uigur name is known in many forms. Gardēzī had *'γγwr'n* **īγūrān*; Greek οὐγούροι; Karabalgasun inscription *uyγur*, Sogdian *'wγγwr*; later Chinese had 畏吾兒 *uei-u-r*, Orkhon Turk *ujγ^{u}r*, Uigur Turk *'wyǧwr*, Tibetan *yu-gur*, *yu-ge-ra*, *yo-gur*, *ḥo-yo-ḥor*, *ḥor*; Arabic *γγr* **yuγur*; Syriac *yugūrāyē*, Mongol *'wyygwry*, Manchu *oigor*; Western spelling *uguristan*, Rubrouck *iugures*, Hethum *iougour*, P. Carpini *huiur*. Their history is set out in J. Hamilton's book Les Ouïghours.

The *Ttatara* are mentioned four times in the extant Khotan Saka texts. They are twice mentioned by *Thyai Paḍa-tsā* in KT 2.89.49, in the passage summarised earlier in the discussion of the Turks. There it was reported that 200 *Tatars* with 2000 *Cumuḍa* were brought by 25 *Ügä* to Kamcū. After their entrance the Uigur Khan *Bukä Hanä* was slain. The second reference (KT 2.81.115) is to the *Tatars* in the city of *Buhä* (*Bug*, *U*, noted earlier) on the Yellow River (Chinese 武 *u* from *mịu*) in the region later called Ordos. They are stated to have blocked the road from Sukcū (*Su-ṭṣou*) to *Liau-ts'üan*.

The *Tatars* occur in two other Khotan Saka documents. In KT 2.77.22–2 (a long list of gifts) there is the passage; *khu kūysa ttattara āvadū pātca ttarakana pau-ḍaina daurmīnai bagal haiṣṭa śau kṣa-kiṇī dvāsa śaca āra* 'when we came to the *Kuz Tatars*, then the Tarkan Pauḍaina (Po-lin) gave one vessel of *daurma*-material of six pound weight, in value 12 *śacī* (silk pieces)'.

The second passage in KT 2.46.91 reads: *u paṃdāyai ttattara ni jsanīṃdä* 'and the Tatars on the road do not kill him'. It is the time of the new young Khan who has no authority in the city of Ṣacū. In 958 *Uigur* and *Tatars* together visited the Chinese Court and are often associated as J. Hamilton has pointed out in his book Les Ouïghours, 138.

The name *Tatar* is first found in the Orkhon text of Kültegin, then in a letter of 842 in Chinese 達怛 K 951,960 *ta-ta* from *t'ât-tât*, that is *Tatar*, and with various other spellings (P. Pelliot, JA 1920, 1, 143). Outside China the name is known in Syriac *ttry'* **tatarāyē*; New Persian (Ḥudūd al-'ālam) *tātār*, Orkhon incription *t^{a}t^{a}r*, Mongol *t't'r*, Manchu *tatar*, Turfan Persian *ṭ't'r*, Ossetic *tätär*, Georgian *t'at'ar*, Javanese *tatar*, Marco Polo Europeanised *Tartarie*.

When in the 9th century the name is recorded it is used of Mongols. They are however distinct from the Mongols in the Mongol text of Sagang Secen. It may have been earlier the name of a different people. In the form the name looks very like an Iranian **tātara-* or **tatara-* reduplicated from North Iranian *tar-* 'to drive, chase'; then it would be a name given by enemies to a dreaded tribe.

The *Supīya* are listed in Z 15.9 as one of the peoples who had ruined the Khotan land in the passage cited before: *huna ciṃgga supīya*. This name *supiya* is also in the Kroraina texts. In a later Khotan Saka text there is the phrase *sūpīyāña ālaṣkau jsa* 'from the camps (or settlements) of the *Supīya* people', where the word *ālaṣka-*, if connected with New Persian *laškar-gāh*, would be rather the military camp, but *ālaṣka-*, *ālaṣṭa-* also renders Bud. Skt. *nagara-* 'town'. There is also the phrase KT 3.75.222 *sūpīyāṃ gūhāṃ*: *kṣīra* 'in the land of the *Supīya* ruffians' (*gūhaa-* 'rough') probably intending bandits, in the Rāma epic poem, a touch of contemporary realism. The name corresponds in Tibetan to *sum-pa* and *gsum-pa* in northeast Tibet, and later in the *Köke-nagur* region. The Chinese wrote 粟特 K 823,714 *su-p'i* from *suo-b'ji*, whence it also came to Tibetan *so-byi*.

A people *Sien-pi*, older *sịän-pei* 鮮卑 K 799,703 *sien-pei* from *sịän-pjię* (Japanese *sen* and *hi*) were reported to be the ancestors of the *Qitan* and the *T'u-yü-hun*. They were situated far to the north beyond Korea and stated to have taken the place of the Hiung-nu who had gone westwards. The name has the consonants *s*, *n*, *p*, but otherwise it is only accidentally like Tibetan *sum-pa* of the *Köke-nagur*. If indeed the name Supīya is Iranian they would be men of a swampy country (if *s-* is from *ts-*).

The *Ttaśīka-* are originally the Arabs, but since they came east as far as the Talas River where they defeated the Chinese in 750, the name may be more widely understood for Muslims, whether Arabs or subject Persians of Iran or Māwarā al-nahr (Transoxiana). The Chinese used the name in reference to the 'Abbāsī Caliphs clad in black.[2] Some of the *Ta-ṣï* were serving in Chinese forces in 757.

In the Khotan Saka documents the *Ttaśīka-* are named in the text of *Viśa Śūra*'s letter to the *Ta-uang*. He mentions his enemy (KT 2.125.3) *māje*

viṣūnara Ttaṣīka Tcūṃ-hye:ni 'our enemy the *Taźik Tcūṃ-hye:na*'. The *Taźik* are mentioned four further times (14,51,70,50). In one other text (KT 2.77.24) there is the *ttaṣīkau kāḍara śau* 'one Arab sword'. The spelling here in Khotan Saka with *-a-* and *-ź-* show indirect contact (one would otherwise expect *-ā-* and *-ja-*). The name itself can be traced from the west of Iran in many sources. Thus there occur Chinese 大食 K 952.891 *ta-ṣï* from *t'ai-dź'iək* and 大寔 K 952,890 *ta-ṣï* from *t'ai-źiək*; Tibetan *ta-źig, ta-čhig,* but also respelled as *stags-gzigs* 'tiger-leopard' (whence Mongol *bars-ibers* 'tiger-leopard'); in a Bon-po text *da-zi-*, and the Blue Deb-ther *tā-źig*; Sogdian *t'z-yk*; Chorasmian *t'ćyk* (*ć* = *ts*); Orkhon inscription $t^{a}z^{i}k$; Turk (Al-Kāšγarī) *täžik*; Turkī *tajïk*; Mongol *tajïg*. But the word arose in the West, in Irān: *tāčīk,* Armenian *tačik, tačkastan*; Zor. Pahl. *tāčīk, tāčīkān,* Pāzand plural *tāzyąn*; New Persian *tājïk, tāzīk, tāzī*; Old Indian *tājika-*, Parsi-Sanskrit *tājīka-*. In the Zor. Pahlavī Bundahišn there is a reference *hač matan ī tāčīkān* 'from the coming of the Arabs'.[3]

The origin of the name of Arabs whom the Syrians called *ṭayāyē* with the usual suffix of ethnics *-āy-* is from the Arab tribe *Ṭai,* in Byzantine Greek Ταιηνοί, Ταινοί. The tribe *Ṭayy* is also named on a magic bowl with other ethnic names Aramaic, Persian, Indian and Roman (E.M. Yamauchi, JAOS 85, 1965, 523). The Iranian name *tāčīk* is then from an older **tāi-čīk* by loss of the *-i̯-* and by the regular suffix of people *-čīk* (in such names as *γarčīk* and *sagzī,* Armenian from Parthian *sagčik,* and *sačik*). The *Ṭai* were at first in South Arabia but migrated to Syria and Iraq in the 4th century A.D., and were in Babylon, according to Jewish evidence, from 150 B.C. to the 7th century A.D., especially in Ktesiphon (JAOS 95, 1975, 184ff.). The Arab title *Amīr al-mu'minīn* was known in Chinese *xei-mi-mou-ni* (from older *xək-mi̯ĕt-miən-nji*) of the kingdom of *Ta-ṣī*. See E. Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-kine, Notes additionnelles, p. 99.

The Arab horse is the *asp ī tāčīk* in Zor Pahlavī and the Chorasmian *t'ćyk,* and has survived in Turkish *tāzī*. The Persian Gulf was called the *var ī tāčīkān* (Šahrīhā ī ērān 25), and there is also the *dašt ī tāčīk* (ibidem 50). An eponymous ancestor *Tāč* was read out of the name *tāčīk*. Hence there is in the Dēnkart (253.16) *tāč tōhmak* 'the lineage of *Tāč,* and (ibidem 597.20) *tāč ī tāčīkān šāh* 'Tāč the king of the Tāčīks'. In the Bundahišn (106.9) it is written *mart hač tāč žan tāčak nām . . . pat dašt ī tāčīkān* 'the man from the Tāč woman by name Tāčak' (the *-ak* is a feminine suffix). There is a phrase (ibidem 208.14) *hunušk ī tāčīkān* 'evil sons of Arabs'.

The *Ttaṃgāta-* occur once only in the Khotan Saka documents. In KT 2.91.97 it is reported that the envoy remained only a short time and then fled with the envoys who live among the *Tanguts,* and he came among the Turks.

The *Tangut* are called 党項 *tang-hiang* in the earliest records. They founded their own state but came to Kan-ṭṣou only in 1028 A.D., replacing Uigurs. The *Tangut* kingdom lasted 200 years, to 1226, ended by the Mongols. The Chinese name was Western *Hia, Si-hia* (Japanese *Seika*), so called with the old name *Hia*. They created their own script which has now by recent discoveries become familiar. They founded an Academy where Chinese Classical texts and the Buddhist scriptures were translated.

The name is recorded in various forms. Here in Khotan Saka *ttaṃgāta-* has the usual *-ā-* for foreign *-o-* or *-u-*. Sogdian has *tnγwt* in the Nāfnāmak ('book of peoples'), Turk *tangqut,* Mongol *t'ngγwt, tangqudun* in the Secret History; Manchu *tanggôt*. In Arabic Rašīd al-dīn has *tnkqwt,* Abū 'l-Ghāzī *t'nkqwt,* Juvainī *tnkwt*; Tibetan *taṅ-gud*. There is a modern Ordos clan name *t'angudūt* and *t'angut*. Marco Polo used *Tangut*. The Chinese 唐古 K973, 421 *t'ang-ku,* from *d'ang-kuo,* Grammata serica recensa 49a *ku, kuo, ko,* does not indicate a final consonant.

The origin of the name may be *tang* with plural *-ud,* the prototype being the ancient name 党項 *tang-hiang* as a tribe of the 羌 K'iang (ethnically Tibetan), possibly connected with the Tibetan *daṅ-rje* and *thaṅ-rje* (*rje* 'king').

The study of the Tangut language began with the inscription on the Küyung-kuan gate, but more recently this century large numbers of manuscripts have been found. A bibliography must be put in the Notes to this chapter.[4]

'Erma has been mentioned earlier. The name occurs in the locative plural *'ermvā* in the Geographical Text and is also known in a compound *'erma-tsūka-* 'travelling to *'Erma*'. In the Tibetan Annals of Khotan the queen *Biźa Phraba* who was queen in *Guzan* built the *vihāra*-college *'Ermo-no,* the adjectival form from *'Erma*. Since the founder's name is at times given in adjectival form to their foundations, this may indicate that *'Erma* was the region called by the Tibetans *Gu-zan* or *Guzen*. This region is according to R. A. Stein the *Köke-nagur* land.[5] The name *guzan* could easily be Iranian from older **vi-zana-* 'fertile land' from the base *zan-* with the meaning developed in North Iranian in Ossetic *zänā* 'fruitful field'. The form of the name *'Erma* is like the words *perma-* from **pārmya-* 'for adoption, nourishment' and *pakyerma-* 'preeminent' from **pa(ti)-čārmya-*.

Argīna- 'men of *Argi*', are of modern Karashahr. The Chinese form was 焉耆 K 243,340 *ien-k'i* from *iän-g'ji* from a Prakrit *aṃggä-* (as in the loanword Khotan Saka *aṃggä-śālā-* 'fire room') which was Sanskritised into *Agni-* (as in Hüan-tsang) and used in the Sanskrit of *Argi* in the compound *Agni-viṣaya,* and the adjective *āgneya-*; a Kuci Kharoṣṭhī form was *agñiyā*. Tumšuq Saka has *agne xšerāna* 'men of the land of *Agni*', and *agñye*

(*agñyā-*). The base may be either Tokhara or Iranian *ark-* or *arg-* 'to enclose'. Hence *Argi* 'the enclosure, citadel, fortress' with the words Old Indian *argaḷa-* 'locking bar', Khotan Saka *āljs-* extant in the *ājs-*, *gijs-*, noun *ājsa-*, *gijsa-* 'bonds, fetters' and Latin *arx* 'citadel', Persian *ark, arkapat* of a fort.[6]

The kingdom of *Kuci* may be named once in the name *akuśī*, as was proposed earlier, in KT 2.40.30 *akuśī bīsā ttāgava* 'ttāgava-men[7] dwelling in *Akuśī*'. The Turfan Persian *'kwčyk *akučīk* is probably the same place. Possibly the Khotan Saka (ibidem 28) *anakuśī* may stand for *akuśī* or possibly for **ankuśī*. The local name in Brāhmī script is *kuśine orocepi lānte* 'of the Great King of Kuci'. A bilingual Sanskrit and Kuci glossary has *tokharika* : *kucaññe iṣcake* which may mean 'the Kuci woman' and so be Bud. Skt. *tokharikā*, adjective of *tokharaka-*. Kuci Kharoṣṭhī has *koci maharaya devaputra* 'the Great King, divine son, of *Kuci*'. Uigur Turkish has *küsän*. Three Chinese writings of the name are known; two show *-ts-* and one Sanskritised *-tč-* (Hüan-tsang). These are 龜茲 K 462,1094 *kuei-tsï* from *kjwi-tsi*; and 屈茨 K 493, 1095 *k'ü-ts'ï* from *k'iuət-dz'i*. The form *Kuči* is rendered by 屈支 K 493, 1212 *k'ü-tṣï* from *k'iuət-t's'ę*. Kuci Skt. has *kucīna-*.

The name has survived as *Kučā*. The kingdom of *Kuci* was suppressed by the Chinese after several attacks. In 648 the Chinese Protectorate of *an-si* was founded in Kuci. The Chinese took the famed orchestra of Kuci to the Chinese Court. Its music has survived and has been restored to performance by L. Picken in Cambridge.

Suvarṇagotra-, the land of the Golden Family, is named in Khotan Saka only in the adjective in reference to the perfume nard. Thus KT 1.173, 91r1 *svarṇagūttaryāṃga būśauniṃ* (*-iṃ* = *-ai*); KT 1.149, 58r4 *svarṇagūttaryāṃ būśānai* for Bud. Skt. *māṃsī* and *nalada-*. The first component is also written *svarna-* with dental *-n-*. The same perfume was called in the same text KT 1.179, 97v4 *ttāgūttāṃ būśāniṃ* 'the perfume of the Tibetans'. Further details were given long ago in BSOAS 10, 1941, 602.

The Indian name *Suvarṇagotra* is given to the Western Kingdom of Women (Chinese 女國 *niu-kuo*). Two such kingdoms are known to the Chinese records, one in Tibet in the province of Khams and the other in the West, south of Khotan. A full description was given by Hüan-tsang. It has been identified by G. Tucci with Tibetan *źang-źung* and West *Cīna*.[8] The Chinese 金氏 *kin-ṣï* 'golden Family' is identified with the Eastern Kingdom of Women, south of Khotan. It is a branch of the Western *K'iang* (Later T'ang-ṣu) with writing like Indian writing. In the same Later T'ang-ṣu the name is given in Sanskrit in Chinese characters 蘇伐剌拏 囉吒羅 *su-fa-la-na-kü-ta-lo* from older *suo-b'iwɒt-lât-na-kịu-tât-lâ*.

The queen had the tribal name *Su-p'i* which corresponds to *Supīya*. The Tibetan had the name *gser-rigs* 'Golden family' of a real, not a mythical place. From Tibetan R. A. Stein set the Kingdom of Women in West Tibet, south of Khotan. See the details in P. Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo, Femeles.

It is now the task to treat of the four controversial names. First the *Huna. Huna-, Hūna-* was one of the peoples denounced as devastators of the *Hvatäna-kṣīra* 'the Land of Khotan': the *Huna Ciṃgga Supīya.*

The *Hiung-nu*, some branch remaining in the East after the break-up of the *Hiung-nu* group by the Sien-pei in the second century A.D. were a danger to Khotan in the fourth century A.D. This (or perhaps rather earlier) was the time when the ancient Sogdian letters mentioned the *xwn* 'Huna-' or 'Hūna-'.

The *Huna-* of the Khotan Saka texts of the 9th century were still active. In one document (KT 2. 8.4) the *ysaṃgauña huna*, that is, probably, 'the plundering Huna' were expected to attack a city, and a similar warning is given, in a second despatch (KT 4.120.4), of the approach of the *Huna.* A third document (KT 2.89.8) reported that they (the Khotan envoys) had brought the gift from the *Devī* queen to be sent to the *Huna.*

The language of these *Huna* and the *Hūṇa* who invaded northwest India has been subject of much discussion. A name like *Toramāṇa* and his son's name *Mihirakula* interpreted by North Iranian (and not by Western Iranian) are clearly Iranian. The development of the group *-rt-* to *-l-* is well known in Saka. Khotan Saka wrote *-ḍ-* (retroflex *-d-*) which occasionally varied with *-l-* as in (KT 2,101.12) *śalai* beside the normal *śäḍe* 'goodness'. Hence from *kṛta-* 'made' Khotan Saka *guḍa-*, which in West Iranian survived as *kert* (as in Armenian loan-word *Yaz-kert*) and in New Persian *kard* and *-gird* (as in *Yazd-gird*), became in North Iranian *kula-*. Hence *Mihirakula-* is the normal Saka for older **Miθrakṛta-*, as West Iranian *Yazdgird* from older **Yazata-kṛta-*.

A recent discussion of the *Hiung-nu* language, which cites a variety of *Hiung-nu* words, proposed to reject the theory of Turkish or Mongol connexions and to connect the *Hiung-nu* language with the *Ket* language of the Ienisei region. This was the work of E. Pulleyblank in AM, n.s., 9, 1962, 239–265. But each word cited in this article can be seen to have a plausible North Iranian form. For the word *Hiung-nu sagdag* for 'boot' the Iranian origin is certain. It is known in the phrase *mōčak ī saxtak ī āzātān* 'the *saxtak*-leather boot of the nobles' in the Parthian poem Draxt Asōrīk. The *Ket sāgdi, śāgdi* 'boot' has the word as a loan-word from Iranian *saxtaka-* with the usual North Iranian change of *-aka-* to *-aya-* to *-ay-* to *-ē-*, and finally to *-ī*. Similar is in Khotan Saka *-aka-* to *-ai*, plural *-ā*, and

Sogdian *-'k, -'kw* to later *-yy, -y* *-*ē* and *-*ī*. The *Ket* have also the Iranian word *nān* 'bread'.

But the other words too in this connexion belonging to the popular vocabulary (and hence hardly loan-words in *Hiung-nu*) can be seen to be Iranian. As an example a selection can be cited. It is hoped to set out the whole evidence in the ninth volume of my series of Khotanese texts, now in preparation. Thus *Hiung-nu lâk* 'fermented mare's milk' for **râk* may be connected with the base of Khotan Saka *ragai* 'some intoxicant drink' which belongs with Ossetic *rong* 'the Nartä epic drink', now in older form *rang* still used in Kartvel languages. Secondly the *Hiung-nu su* 'fat substance', older *sou,* should be traced to the Iranian *sau-*: *su-* in Avestan *fšuta-* 'cheese', and Ossetic Iron *soj, sojāg,* Digoron *sojnä* 'fat' from the base *fšau-* in the verb *fšaun-* 'to fatten' (note that the Ossetic *-on-* has two origins *-ān-* and *-aun-*). Thirdly the *Hiung-nu king-lu,* older *keng-lou* 'sword' belongs with Sogdian *xnγr* **xangara-,* Waxī *xingār* 'dagger', Turkish *qïngïraq*. Fourthly the *Hiung-nu* **čangri* 'sky', whence came Turkish *tängri* 'sky, god' is from Iranian **čanγaraka-* the 'circle of the sky' in a form like the Sogdian Buddhist *wnγr* 'voice' **wanxar* or **wanγar*; *šrγw-wnγr'k* **šarγō-wanγarak* 'lion's roar, *siṃha-nāda-*'. Fifthly *Hiung-nu t'ung,* older *tong,* 'milk fluid' is to be traced in Ossetic Digoron *donq,* Iron *donq, doy* 'one milking', to the verb *docun, duγd* 'to milk', and to New Persian *dōγ* 'thick milk'.

The *Hiung-nu* verse couplet which has been preserved with a Chinese translation can be expressed in Iranian words which correspond to the Chinese translation. Three Turkish translations have been attempted but ignoring the Chinese rendering. In his article, Pulleyblank does not offer a Ket reading of this couplet.

If then the basic language of the *Hiung-nu* people was North Iranian, in effect a *Saka* dialect, the name in its oldest form *Hyonnāh* will be the plural of the name *Hyaona-,* later *Hyōn,* in the Zoroastrian tradition. In that tradition the *Hyaona-* were the enemies of Zoroaster's patron King Vištāspa.

Note further that the form of the ethnic name *Hyaona* is an old Iranian adjective.[9] It fits the Old Indian Rigvedic *syoná-* 'enjoyable, pleasant'. These two words can be derived from the base *sai-*: *si-* 'to satisfy' with the increment *-au-* in the sense 'to enjoy' and hence 'to possess', as in the base *baug-* 'to enjoy, possess', in Old Indian *bhoja-* 'prince' as the 'possessor'.

The name *Cimuḍa-* has beside it a variant *Cumuḍa-*. This people are the inhabitants of a part of the *Nan-shan* mountains southeast of Khotan and of Ṣacū. They accompany 200 *Tatars* in a *hīna* 'troop' of 2000 (*dvī ysāra*).

In form the name can be recognised easily as from an archaic Iranian **čamṛta-,* with the usual Saka development, from the base *čam-* 'to stride out like a warrior'. It is formed by suffix *-ar-* of agent or function in the reduced *-ṛ-* followed by *-ta-*. A word of identical form was made also from *kam-, čam-* 'to carry' in the Pamir Šughnī *ćimūd* (*ć* = *ts*) 'basket', Orošorī *ćamūg,* Sanglēčī *čumōḷ,* all from older *čamṛta-*. From the velar *kam-* the Khotan Saka has *khamūḍa-,* while the verb *kam-* 'to carry' is in full use in Tokhara. Elsewhere for the stride of a warrior the Iranian has Sogdian *γr'm-* (that is, *xrām-*) and New Persian *xrām-,* with Old Indian *kram-*. The Celtic used *cing-* 'to stride' to make a word for 'hero' *cinget-,* familiar in the name *Vercingetorix*. The variation of *ča-, či-* and *ču-* is usual. Avestan has both *čanah-* and *činah-* 'desire', the Old Persian *θinah-* in the name *Aspathinēs*. Migration to the northwest brought *Cimuḍa* with Turks. Al-Kāšγarī called them *ǰml* **čumul* associated with Turks but still retaining their own language, probably therefore Iranian. The name is first attested to their north in the Kroraina names *Cimola-* and *Cimolǵa*. The Chinese wrote their name 處密 K 1256, 617 *tṣ'u-mi* from *tś'ịwo-miet*. A Turkish name *čungul*[10] has perhaps modified the Iranian **čimula-* by change of *-m-* to *-ng-*, and if so, the name KT 2.74.31 *cūṇūḍa* may be from the Turkish form in the list of Turkish tribes. They may then have been associated with Turks as at 600 A.D. the Sui-ṣu joined the *Alans* to the Turks, as mentioned before. They were Üe-tṣï.

Hara occurs in the phrase *hara-kṣīra* 'the land Hara'. In the same document the name is also written *Ha*. The context is concerned with the region of the Yellow River and the cities of *Ling, U* and *Ṣuo-fang*. One Khotan Saka document (KT 2.117–121) is concerned with Khotan envoys in the *Hara* land which is famous for "Scythian" (Sarmatian) bronzes. Under the title *Altun Khan,* the name of the most important person of the document, this was translated in BSOAS 30, 1967, 95–98. The *Hara, Ha* land is the Chinese 夏 K 136 *hia* from *γa* (earlier *g'a,* aspirated *g-*). The Khotan Saka *-ra* indicates an older Chinese form with final consonant. The presence of a final laryngal sound in this Chinese syllable *hia* from *γa,* in the meaning 'summer', is attested in the Tibetan spelling *kha'a*[11] (*'a,* the last Tibetan letter) in the text published in BSOAS 12, 1948, 760, no. 125, line 30. The same Tibetan *'a* is used for *-ra* in the spelling *ka-'a-sta* for Khotan Saka *karasta-* 'skin' quoted AION 1, 1959, 126. A similar final *-ra* is presented in Khotan Saka *pīra* for Chinese 鼻 K 716 *pi* from *b'ji,* but in the Grammata serica recensa 521 c *pi* from *b'ji* from *b'ịəd* (KT 2.1.11 and SDTV 19) has an older *-δ*.

In this same context occurs the city name *ḍi* with *ttu* 'city'. This is

Chinese靈 K561 *ling* from *lieng*, the city of *Ling* on the Yellow River. The *ttu, ttū* is Chinese都K 1187 *tu* from *tuo*. The name *Ling* is associated with the name U in a compound *Ling-u*. The Chinese武K 1283 *u* from *mi̯u*, Grammata serica recensa 104d *mi̯wo, mi̯u, wu*, is Khotan Saka (KT 2.91.118) *buhä-thụ* for *Buk-tu* the 'city *Buk*'. In Tibetan script this is kept in *hbug-čhor* for Turkish *Bug-čor*, attested in Arabic script as بغشر **buγ-šūr*, as P. Pelliot could inform J. Bacot, JA 1956, 151. Here again the Khotan Saka and Tibetan and Persian have kept a final consonant absent from the Chinese tradition. In the name Lükčün, Khotan Saka *ḍūkä-cū* the Chinese tradition still has trace of the final *k* in柳*liu-ṭṣung*, Grammata serica recensa 1114 l *li̯ôg, li̯ə̯u, liu*, with Khotan Saka *buhä*: and *buha* (KT 3.100.16) the word *thuṃ* (*thụ*) and *ttā* is the Chinese都 *tu* from *tuo* 'city'. The city *Ṣuo-fang* is in Khotan Saka written *śvahvāṃ, śahvāṃ:, śahvā* and *śāhvā* for K 926, 25 朔方 *ṣuo-fang* from *ṣåk-pi̯wang*. It is the name of a district; hence the phrase in Khotan Saka KT 2.89.45 *śahvāṃ: ḍi-ttu kīthi* 'in the city of *Ling* of *Ṣuo-fang*'. This district is on the west part of the loop of the Yellow River.

Here as a final name stands the most controversial toponym and ethnonym of them all. The name is written *Gara*, the initial sound of which, it is important to note, is a fricative *γ-*, not an occlusive. The documentation is extensive; here only a brief statement of the principal points can be given.

The centre of the *Gara* people was the town *Čang-ie* 張掖 K 1174.187 *ṭṣang-i* from older *t'i̯ang-i̯a*, the later *Kan* of *Kan-ṭṣou* 甘州 *kam-tśi̯ə̯u* K 298.1258, the department of *Kan*. This city was named by the Greek trader in the mid-second century A.D. Θογαρα *Thogara*. In the same place the Chinese reported the people called月 K 1347 *üe* from *ngiwɒt*, Japanese *gwatsu, getsu*, Grammata serica recensa 306 *ngiwăt, ngiwɒt, yüe*. This *ngiwat* was used in the double phrase *ngiwat-t̂i̯eĝ*, modern *üe-ṭṣï* which clearly is a foreign **g(w)aδ-čik*. For the group *ngiw-* later the Brāhmī script had *g-*, and Tibetan wrote *hgyv-, hgy-, hgv-* (where *h-* is a laryngal). The phrase月支國 *ngiwat-t̂i̯eĝ* 'Land' occurs in two Chinese documents from Niya. Before these two syllables the Chinese often set大 *t'ai* 'great'. They also used the小 *siau* 'small' for two places. Since the initial was a fricative *γ-* it was unsuitable to use the Chinese aspirate *gh-*, but *ngiw-* did suit for a *γ-* and for a *i̯-*.

Some of the *Gara* were recognised as allies by the Khotan envoys so that they called them *mājā gara* 'our Gara', as they wrote also of *mājā hvehvura* 'our Uigurs' (KT 2.113.102 and 75).

The Iranian ethnic names are frequently given a suffix *-čīka-* (or *-čīya-*).

Thus New Persian has *γalčīk* (beside *γalčah*) for the Pamir mountain peoples, as the inhabitants of a *γarčistān* 'mountain region'. The base is *gari-* 'mountain'. For this adjective Khotan Saka used *garaja-*. Similar is New Persian *sagzī* 'of Saka', Parthian (in Armenian) *sagčik*. Other New Persian names are *marvazī* 'of Margu-', *lagzī* 'of Leg', and *gurǰī* 'of the Iver'. The Pamir Yazgulāmī has the derivative *γərčug*, plural *γarčəgaθ* 'mountain'.

In Khotan Saka the toponym *dapäcī* (KT 2.7.17) is derived from **napa-čīka-*, as in Chinese納職 K 654,1223 *na-ṭṣï* from *nap-tśi̯ə̯k*, Turk لافجوق *lāpcuk* derived from the place-name Bud. Skt. *navapa-* and Tibetan *nob* (see AM, n.s., 2.13).

Positive identification of the *si̯äu-ngiwat-t̂i̯eĝ*, that is 'little *ngwaδ-čik*', modern *siau-üe-ṭṣï* with Bud. Skt. *tukhāra-* is made by the translator of Kuci origin Kumārajīva (born 344, and working till 413). Note too that the Khotan painter *Viśa Irasaṃga* (written in Chinese耗遲 K 1312,784 *uei-ṭṣ'ï* from *wei-d'i* with 乙僧 K 176,1047 *i-səng* from *iĕt-sang*) was called both胡 *Hu*, which is normally for 'Iranian', and *t'u-xuo-lo* (older *t'uo-xuâ-lâ*) 'Tokhara' man.

In *Thogara* one may see the people *Gara* in the *gara* of the second part. The first syllable can almost certainly be traced to Iranian *tau-*: *tu-* 'to increase in size' with many derivatives. This *tau-* and *tuvi-* 'great' will correspond to Old Indian *tuvi-* of many compounds as in *tuvi-maghá-* 'having great riches'. Greek has the rare ταῦς μέγας. In North Iranian Khotan Saka *ttu-mäṣa-* 'great field' renders Bud. Skt. *su-kṣetra-*. Variation of 'great' with 'good' occurs (in reverse) when Bud. Skt. *mahā-puruṣa-* is rendered by Khotan Saka *hu-daha-*. This *to-, tu-* should also be seen in the name of the city of the Former Han-ṣu都密 *Tu-mi* (K 1187, 23 *tu-mi* from *tuo-miet*), with the *-u* < *-uo* used also for the name *t'u-xuo-lo, tukhāra-*. This was called later in the Later Han-ṣu高附 K 308,44 *kau-fu* from *kau-b'i̯u*, Greek Καβουρα, modern *Kābul*, Zor. Pahl. *k'pwl*. This *tu-* 'great',[12] with a suffix *tu-s-* (from *tu-k̂-*) is in the name of the ancient Saka people, the Θυσσαγέται of Herodotos (4.22; 123) beyond the river Tanais (Don). They will be the 'Great Sakatai', just as the Μασσαγέται are the 'Great Sakatai' (*mas* 'great'). With the suffix *-kha-* (or possibly verbal increment *k(h)-*) the Ossetic Digoron has *tuxä* 'strength'.

Variation of fricatives, voiced and voiceless, occurs in various sources. Thus Avestan has both *suxδa-* and *suγδa-*, Old Persian *suguda-* 'Sogdiana', and new Persian *yazarān* beside *xazarān*, Zor. Pahl. *hčl'n *xazarān*, and so similarly in Ossetic there is Digoron *gäyädi*, Iron *gäxxät* 'paper', Kuci

Sanskrit *kākali, kakari,* Bud. Skt. *kāyagata-,* Old Indian *kāgada-,* New Persian *kāγaδ,* Sogdian *q'γδ'*, Uigur *kägdä, kagda,* Bud. Sogdian *k'γδyh,* Tibetan Sanskrit *kāgata-,* Mongol *qagudasun.*

Hence *Thogara* is an Iranian **tau-γarā-* 'great *Garā* place', the word being an adjective with the word *kanthā-* 'city' omitted.

The Greek names Θογαρα, Θαγουροι, Τακοραιοι, Ταχοροι, Τοχαροι are found on the route that the *Ta-üe-ṭṣï* traversed from *Kan-ṭṣou* to *Baktria,* which received their name *Tokhāristān,* as in the Khotan Saka text KT 2.107.19 *bāhulaka-viṣaya ttahvārasthāna-.* The name *Baktra* of the city survived in the city *Bāxδī-, Baxl, Balx,* from the Avesta to the present day.

The Tibetans were called 大蕃 *Ta-fan* by the Chinese at the time of the Tibetan expansion. Earlier the word *fan* alone was in use, a transliteration of the Tibetan *bon* which they used for the later normal *bod.* This word *bod* is written in a Tibetan text in Khotan Saka orthography *pātta* (KT 2.63.75). Chinese had also forms of this *bod* such as 髮 K 750 *fa* from *piwɒt.*

But the Chinese also received the name through a foreign intermediary as 吐蕃 K 1129,22 *t'u-fan* from *t'uo-b'iwɒn,* that is for **to-bon.* This is clearly the same *to-* that occurs in the Greek Θογαρα. It represents the Tibetan *bod čhen* 'Great Bod', and *bod čhen-po* in the 9th century Lhasa inscription.

For the case of indirect knowledge of a foreign ethnic name of a people actually in contact on the frontier, note how Khotan Saka has *hve:hvu:ra* for *Uigur* from Chinese 回紇 K 108,332 *xuei-xo* from *yuâi-γuət,* although the Uigur had settled in Turfan by 840, and the Khotan Saka diplomatic despatch knows *mājā hve:hvu:ra* 'our Uigurs', as they know *mājā gara* 'our Gara people'. It has been proposed that the Chinese envoy to the West in the second century Chang-k'ien knew the name of *Khotan* from the *Hiung-nu* who used 于遁 K 1317,1142 *ü-tun* from *jĭu-d'uən.*

The Chinese reported that the *Ta-üe-ṭṣï* were driven out, that they went to the West and occupied *Baktria* (which received their name *Tokhāristān*). The Greeks in the second century B.C. knew of the invading Τοχαροι entering *Baktria.*

A still more important problem can now be approached, that is, the identity of the *Ta-hia* of *Baktria* whom the *Ta-üe-ṭṣï* subdued in the second century B.C. at the time the Greeks knew the Τοχαροι as invaders of that region.

The ethnonym is placed very early as 大夏 *T'âi-g'å* in Chinese legendary history. But it was placed in the Yellow River region (the modern Ordos) and there the Khotan Saka in the ninth century A.D. knew the *Hara-kṣīra* 'the *Hara* land'. This *hara* will represent a foreign *γara-* or *xara-.*

In the West in the Oxus region the Chinese placed the people 大夏 (K 136

hia from *γa*) 'the Great *Gara*'. This could be the 'Mountain people' in the Hindu-kush, the Paropamisadai. The name *γarčistān* is still used of the *Haraiva* (*Harēv, Herāt*) river system of mountains. The word *gari-, γar* is still the word for 'mountain' in the Pamirs, not the western Iranian Old Persian *kaufa-,* Zor. Pahl. *kōf,* New Persian *kōh.* The New Persian adjectives *γalčīk* (and *γalčah*) 'mountain' is extant.

Here then a sheer conjectural reconstruction of what happened. At a period about 1000–800 B.C. the *Hyauna-* people (named in connexion with the name *Huna-,* Zor. Pahl. *hyōn*) of the time of Zoroaster (circa 1000 B.C.), enemies of his patron king *Vištāspa,* ruled by a king with an Iranian name *Arǰat-aspa-* ('winner of horses'), emigrated to the East. In 771 B.C. the Chinese were defeated by westerners and moved their capital for the next 300 years to near Lo-yang. These *Hyauna* called in Han times **Hyon-nah* (later *Hiung-nu*) by the Chinese were (second century A.D.) driven out of the East and passed in the fourth century A.D. through Khotan where they were called *Huna*; and they went on into north India at 500 A.D. under the name *Hara-hūṇa* and *Śveta-hūṇa,* the Red Huns and White Huns. Others passed on into Iran where they were the *Karmīr Hyōn* and *Spēt Hyōn,* the Red and White *Hyauna,* and the Greeks called them Κερμιχίωνες and Ἑρμηχίονες.

The case of the *Gara* 'Mountain people' was similar. In the second century B.C. called *ngiwat-čik* by the Chinese they were driven West. The stages of their course can be traced by the *Tokhara* names in Greek texts across Asia to the Oxus. Their name took the place of Baktria, that is, *Tokhāristān*; the Tibetan writer knew this land as *tog-gar* with variants. These invaders subdued the indigenous *Hara* people (Chinese *Hia*) of the Oxus region from which their ancestors had emigrated between 1000 and 800 B.C.

And this and much more is the material to be set out in full detail in my ninth volume of Khotanese Studies now in preparation.

Notes

1. J. Harmatta, Irano-Turcica, Acta orientalia hungarica 25, 1972, 263–273.

2. Chinese 黑衣大食 xei-i ta-ṣï 'black-clad Ta-ṣï'.

3. Greater Bundahišn 1.10 hač matan ī tāčīkān 'from the coming of the Arabs'.

4. Recent work on *Tangut* can be seen in N. V. Sofronov and E. I. Kyčanov, Acta orientalia hungarica 18, 1965, 339–354; Z. I. Gorbačeva and E. I. Kyčanov, Učenye zapiski, 9, 1954, 67–69; E. D. Grinstead, Tangut fragments in the British Museum, British Museum Quarterly 1961, 82–87; E. D. Grinstead, Analysis of the Tangut script, 1972.

5. On *Gu-zan,* see R. A. Stein, Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet, 309–312.

6. For *ark-,* see Acta Iranica, Monumentum H. S. Nyberg, III, 1975, 309–312.

7. The word *ttāgava* has not yet been clearly explained. KT 2.58,b4 has the form *ttugavā* (genitive plural). The *-va* is likely to be older *-pati-* 'official in charge of' *ttuga-* and *ttāga-*. An important *ajhade* 'noble' *toṃga* official is common in the Kroraina texts. It may derive from the base *taug-* 'to pay', attested in Armenian loan-word *toyž, toužem* 'to pay, atone', New Persian *tōz-, tōxtan* 'pay', *vām tōxtan* 'pay a debt', Sogdian *twγ* 'sorrow', Syriac *ṭwgn-*' 'tortured', with Armenian *tougan* 'payment'. Note Khotan Saka *būnaa-* 'naked' from **bagnaka-* for the *-gn-*. This would give **taugnaka-pati-*.

8. G. Tucci, Serie Orientale Roma 10, 1956, and R. A. Stein, JA 1956, 463–465.

9. On *Hyaona,* see Indo-Celtica, Gedächtnisschrift für Alf Sommerfelt, 1972, 18–28.

10. J. Hamilton, JA 1977, 351–378, Le pays des Tchong-yun (where a revision in Iranian terms is desirable). They are üe-ṭṣï.

11. For Tibetan *kha'a* for Chinese 夏 'summer', BSOAS 12, 1948, 760, no. 125, in a Ṣacū manuscript, early ninth century, a bilingual Tibetan-Chinese vocabulary in Tibetan script.

12. This use of the base *teu-*: *tu-* 'great' can also be seen in Indo-European Germanic Old Norse *þūs-hund,* Old Frankish *thūs-chunde* '1000'

as the 'great hundred'. In Semitic, Aramaic has *rb* **rabb* 'great' and *rbw* **ribbō* 'multitude, 10,000'. Tokhara B *tumane,* A *tmāṃ* '10,000' is also the 'great (number)'. From Aramaic Sogdian has *RYPW* '10,000'.

Appendix

Chinese Characters and Words of which the Transcription Appears in Text

Page		Page	
1	乙	17	玉
1	玉門	17	寶
2	聖	17	玉河
2	于闐	17	玉門
5	僧	17	聖
5	娑摩若	17	樓蘭
6	寺	18	渙那
13	摩 諦；德		

Page	
18	大寶于闐國
18	鎮
19	法顯
19	玄奘
19	和尚
19	慧超
19	塞
20	秦
20	支那
20	涉車
20	敦煌
20	燉

Page	
23	刺史
23	都頭
23	聖君
23	夫人
23	大德
23	宰相
23	世尊
23	長史
23	大師
23	節度使
23	百姓

Page	
23	功德使
23	太保
23	都督
23	令公
23	判官
23	司空
23	大王
23	僕射
27	建
27	大都
41	走馬
42	破沙

Page	
45	尉遲
58	馬耆
58	靈　都
58	朔方
58	夏
59	柳中
59	都
61	大德
67	聖君
69	宰相
71	聖君
74	菩薩

Page		Page	
79	曹大王	88	大食
80	大德	88	大窪
81	秦	89	党項
82	大蕃	89	唐古項
83	吐蕃	89	党項
85	突厥	89	羌
86	回紇	89	焉耆
86	畏吾兒	90	龜茲
86	武	90	屈茨
87	達怛	90	屈支
87	鮇毗	90	女國
87	鮮卑	90	金氏

Page		Page	
90	蘇伐剌拏	94	羅旭曜月
93	處密	94	月支國
93	夏	94	月大
93	鼻	94	小
94	靈	94	納職
94	都	95	尉遲
94	武	95	乙僧
94	柳中	95	胡
94	都	95	都密
94	絣方	95	高附
94	張掖	96	大蕃
94	甘州		

Page		Page	
96	髮	96	于遁
96	吐蕃	98	黑衣大食
96	回紇	98	夏
96	大夏		大夏

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